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5

HIKAYAT PATANI THE STORY OF PATANI

by

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The Bibliotheca Indonesica is a series of texts in Indonesian languages published in critical edition and accompanied by a translation and commentary. As such it is a continuation of the Bibliotheca Javanica which from 1930 onward was published by the Royal Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences, though with two significant differences: the Bibliotheca Indonesica contains texts in various Indonesian languages, and the translations and commentaries are in English. In this way the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology aims to contribute further to the unlocking of the treasury of Indonesian literatures for the benefit of international scholarship. Special thanks are due to the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.) for making available the grant which enabled the Institute to launch this new project.

The series has been designed in such a way as to serve not only the needs of students of literature proper. Historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, sociologists and linguists as well as students of comparative religion and law may also find much in this literature to enrich and deepen their insight. It is hoped, finally, that the Bibliotheca Indonesica, by presenting a variety of products of the Indonesian mind to a wider public, may form a valuable contribution to the mutual understanding of the peoples of East and West.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD.

PREFACE

The stimulus for the joint venture of which the present book is the visible result was provided by the discovery of a Malay manuscript of the long lost Hikayat Patani by one of the authors, and the publication, quite independently, of a Thai version of the same text by the other. The authors, who were not acquainted with one another before this, "found" each other at the suggestion of Professor O. W. Wolters, to whom they are grateful for the idea.

The preparation of the book took place on both sides of the Atlantic, with a frequent exchange of letters containing the results of the work of each author. In August, 1969, Teeuw was given the opportunity to visit Cornell University, where in a fortnight's most intensive contact and concentrated research all the drafts were checked, supplemented, rewritten and improved, and the definitive arrangement of the book decided on. The work on the manuscript was completed in the following four months, again in geographically separated spheres. The actual manuscript was rounded off at the beginning of 1970.

Looking back the whole undertaking was a hazardous experiment in many respects. Not only were the authors not personally acquainted when the work was first begun, but neither spoke the other's language — Malay and Thai — and even though their respective disciplines may be related, they differ on many points. In view of the developments in the study of Southeast Asian historiography it was far from certain at the outset that this confrontation between the philologist and the historian would not lead to conflict rather than synthesis.

It is not for the authors to judge to what extent their efforts have been successful. Personally they are convinced that in any case the attempt has been worthwhile and that it has become apparent once more that in principle cooperation between specialists from different disciplines and on different areas in Southeast Asia is fruitful and necessary. Their experience has taught them that the contrast between Buddhist Thailand, which is orientated more towards mainland Asia, and Muslim, Indonesia-oriented Malaya is not as absolute as is often suggested. If the publication of this Story of Patani contributes in any way to the interpenetration of mainland and insular Southeast Asian

studies the authors — apart from the personal satisfaction this work has afforded them — will feel more than duly rewarded for their efforts.

For interest's sake it may be useful to point out how in the main the work was divided between the authors. The edition of the Malay text with the translation was prepared by Teeuw, who is also primarily responsible for Chapters II and III; in many ways he has been able to profit for these parts from the earlier publication by Wyatt of the translation of the Thai version (1967). The first Chapter was written by Wyatt, who also designed and drew the maps printed in this book. The detailed comments on the Malay text (Chapter VI) were prepared jointly by the authors, each contributing from his own field whatever seemed relevant for elucidating the text. The authors also jointly wrote the short concluding chapter, in which they have endeavoured to give some kind of evaluation of the text as a Malay story and history. But throughout the work on this book there was such a strong interaction between the views of both authors that they prefer to emphasize their joint responsibility for the book as a whole rather than stressing their respective contributions to it.

The authors would not have been able to bring this work to an end without the moral, intellectual and material support of many people and institutions. Mr. Cecil Hobbs, librarian of the Southeast Asia Department of the Library of Congress kindly opened the stacks of his Department to Teeuw, and by letting him roam about there enabled him to rediscover the library's Malay treasures, of which this manuscript of the *Hikayat Patani* constitutes the most precious one. Dr. Rodney Needham of the Institute of Social Studies at Oxford University kindly made available the second manuscript once Teeuw had got onto the scent of it. Dr. R. Roolvink of the University of Leiden, who was the first to draw Teeuw's attention to the importance of the text which he had rediscovered, read through a large part of the pre-final draft of the book and suggested a number of valuable improvements especially in the translation of the Malay text. Tun Seri Mubin Sheppard kindly provided the authors with information pertaining to the final part of the Malay text in two personal letters. Professor P. E. de Josselin de Jong, Dr. A. H. Klokke and Dr. H. J. de Graaf were kind enough to answer incidental requests for information. The authors hope that Mrs. Judith Becker, at present in Malang, Indonesia, will forgive them for inserting an enlightening note on some musicological aspects of the final part of

the text which she sent by way of personal communication to Wyatt.

Drs. S. O. Robson, staff member of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, has had as large a part in the realization of this volume of the *Bibliotheca Indonesica* as he has had in the previous volumes. He is partly responsible for the English of Teeuw's contributions to this book, and also checked the Malay text once more against the Abdullah manuscript and carefully read through the remainder of the text, not restricting himself to technical corrections but also frequently suggesting material improvements. He also had a large part in the compilation of the bibliography and index and assisted in reading the proofs. Miss M. J. L. van Yperen, also on the editorial staff of the Institute, in addition to typing out draft after draft, took care of the correspondence at the European end, as well as keeping track of all the incoming and outgoing changes to the manuscripts. Her continuous attention to the rules of English grammar and idiom is also gratefully acknowledged.

The authors are grateful to the Library of Congress and to the Institute of Social Anthropology in Oxford for their permission to make use of the manuscripts of the Hikayat Patani for this publication. Mention should also be made of the financial support of the University of Leiden which enabled Teeuw to travel to Cornell University for the preparation of this publication, and to the Southeast Asia Program of Cornell University which undertook the financial responsibility for his stay in Ithaca, N.Y. A large part of the editorial work on this book was done under the three years' grant provided by Z.W.O. (Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research) to the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology for the launching of the *Bibliotheca Indonesica*, which is gratefully acknowledged here. The authors feel honoured by the Board of the Institute's accepting this text for publication in the abovenamed series.

A few remarks on the spelling used in this book seem called for. Use has been made, for the spelling of the Malay text, of the system of spelling designed some years ago by the joint Indonesian-Malaysian Committee for the unification of the spelling of Malay and Bahasa Indonesia. Although so far this has not been officially implemented in either of the two countries, it is used unofficially in a sufficiently large number of cases in both to justify its adoption in a scholarly edition of a Malay text which may attract some interest in both Malaysia and Indonesia. For consistency's sake the spelling of the Malay text

has been maintained in the proper names, toponyms and Malay words occurring in the English part of the book except in cases where an Oriental word has been incorporated in the English language (e.g. *sheikh* rather than *syaikh*). Thai words and names occurring in the Malay text have been spelt according to the Malay spelling of the Abdullah manuscript; but in the English text the spelling of these Thai words has been adapted to the accepted scholarly transliteration of Thai insofar as the Malay spelling has allowed of such adaptation.

For references to the Malay text (and English translation) throughout the book use has been made of the page numbers of the Abdullah manuscript printed in the margin of the Malay text (Chapter IV) and the translation (Chapter V).

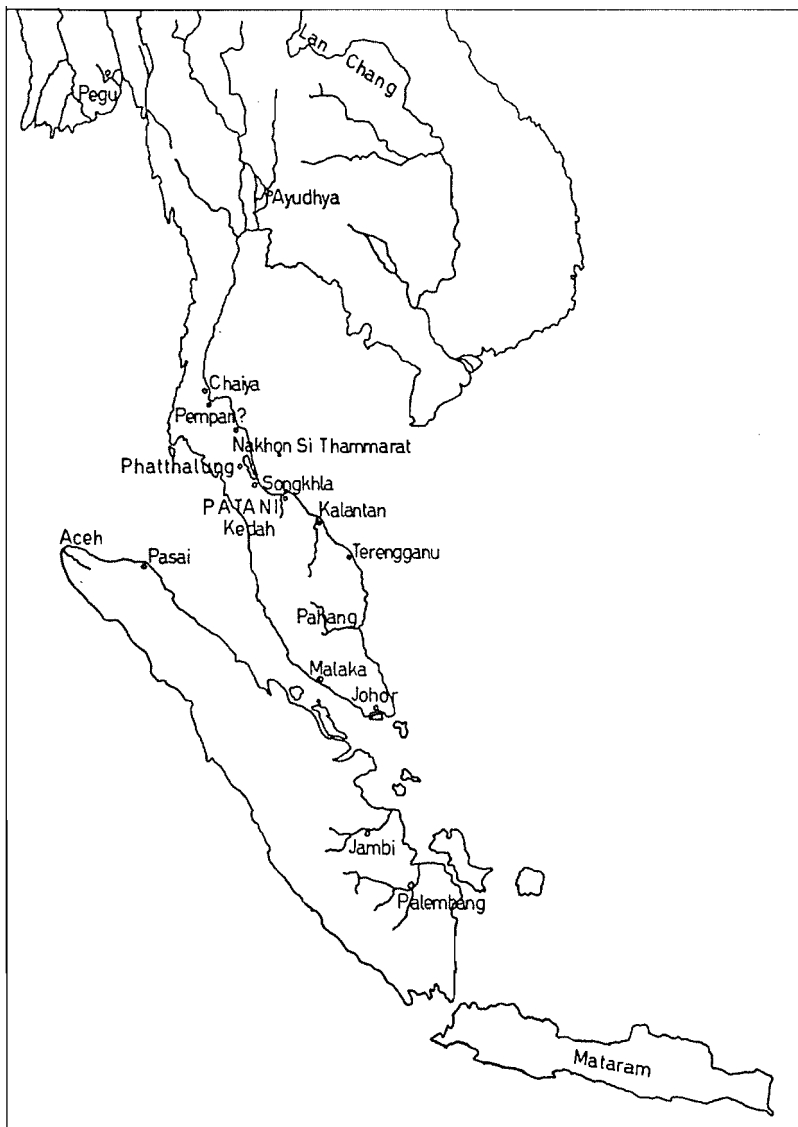
In conclusion a few words about the cover adorning the book. Use has been made for this of an etching included in *Begin ende Voortgangh (Tweede Schipvaart)* in illustration of the detailed account of life at the court of Patani contained therein, as reported by Dutch sailors at the beginning of the 17th century. The authors realize that the idea which the Dutch artist formed of a royal picnic in Patani on the basis of this report is far from realistic. But they have yielded to the naive charm of this misrepresentation, and trust that the reader will also be amused rather than annoyed at this cover. In any case they hope that the book will help to give a better knowledge and understanding of the Malay world of Patani to both Eastern and Western readers.

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Map 1. Patani in Southeast Asia.

CHAPTER I

A SHORT HISTORY OF PATANI

The small provincial town in the south of Thailand that today is Patani gives little indication of the richness of its past. Travellers who fly high above it en route to Bangkok or Singapore, or mariners who steam past it almost over the horizon, probably are oblivious of the great advantages its geographical position once gave it in a long millennium of sailing ships and a complex Asian trade. Along the lengthy east coast of the Malay Peninsula there are few good natural harbours, and Patani long was among the best of these. It is at the Cape of Patani that the coastline veers westward, and at that point that a long narrow spit of land curves twelve miles out to sea, protecting on its southern and western sides a bay some five miles across. There the early mariner could shelter from the northeast, or southwest, monsoon before continuing on northwards to Ayudhya in Thailand, or to the Vietnamese coast and onward to China, or southwards for the Straits of Malacca and points beyond. When trade in the Straits was particularly disturbed, trans-peninsular overland routes stretched towards Patani from Kedah and Perak through narrowing river basins and over the low mountain ranges that form the spine of the peninsula. With a small hinterland well-suited for wet-rice cultivation, the region could sustain a modest population, and its natural advantages led it from earliest times to engage in overseas trade.

THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF PATANI

The region of Patani seems first to have attained some importance in the sixth century A.D. when it began sending diplomatic and trading missions to China, although a kingdom located in the region may have been founded as early as the second century.¹ Under the name of Langkasuka (Chinese *Lang-ya-hsiu*) it was an important trading port for Asian sailors, particularly when mariners began to sail directly across the Gulf of Siam from the southernmost tip of Vietnam to the Malay Peninsula, which often brought them to a landfall in the region of

¹ Wheatley, 1961, pp. 253—54, quoting Ma Tuan-lin.

Patani. Like its northern neighbours, it was a stronghold of Buddhism as early as the seventh century.² Langkasuka was sufficiently important in the trade of the early eleventh century to figure among the major targets of the naval expeditions of the Cholas of South India.³ Like other small states in the middle reaches of the Malay Peninsula it was strongest when major powers to the north and south were least active. When the thalassocracy of Śrīvijaya effectively dominated the Straits of Malacca in the eighth and ninth centuries, promoting trade and suppressing piracy, Langkasuka as an alternative port for the trans-shipment of goods across the peninsula came under its influence.⁴ Langkasuka's fate in the subsequent period is uncertain. The isthmian region generally was under pressure from all directions, as the Cambodian Empire of Angkor, the Burmese/Mon Empire of Pagān, the Cholas, Ceylon, Java, and Śrīvijaya all intervened in peninsular affairs and small states struggled to keep their independence, either to maintain a precarious existence or to disappear from sight.⁵

The main significance of Langkasuka's history prior to the thirteenth century is the inescapable conclusion that a state in the vicinity of modern Patani, like its nearby neighbours, consistently played an important economic and political role in the affairs of the isthmian region. This is particularly true of periods of localized trade, when either lack of unified control to facilitate trade in the Straits of Malacca, or competition between several powers over the trade of the Straits, encouraged the commercial and political rise of smaller powers to the north and south of the straits. Navigationally it was necessary for sailors coming from China to wait for the change in the monsoons somewhere in the vicinity of the Malay Peninsula. Moreover, there was a strong and active South China Sea trade, more local in nature, for the distribution and exchange of products such as the rice surplus of the major mainland monarchies, the iron of Borneo, and the various spices which grew in different places scattered throughout the region. Patani itself was renowned as the source of a particularly high grade of eaglewood (also known as aloeswood and *gharu*); and the cloth and porcelain it might have received in exchange would have been distributed along the coasts and up the streams of localities nearby.⁶ This probably was not a major trade, but it was a sustaining one for such a state as Langkasuka.

² Wheatley, 1961, p. 256.

³ Coedès, 1968, pp. 141—44.

⁴ Wheatley, 1961, pp. 263—64.

⁵ Wyatt and Bastin, 1968.

⁶ Wheatley, 1961, pp. 264—65.

Langkasuka last is heard of in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century.⁷ By that time, the region of Patani already had felt the power of the newly-established Thai monarchies of Sukhothai and Ayudhya. Langkasuka never is mentioned by name in the Thai records, but as Patani or Tani it figures consistently among a group of Buddhist states — including Kedah and Pahang — centered on Nakhon Si Thammarat (Ligor). The Nakhon Si Thammarat chronicles perpetuate a tradition which suggests that this group of states was brought together in the first half of the thirteenth century under Nakhon Si Thammarat's leadership, perhaps during the time of the great Candrabhānu, who invaded Ceylon in 1247 and ca. 1260. These states remained as a group under the leadership of Nakhon Si Thammarat in a suzerain-vassal relationship to the Thai monarchy until the early sixteenth century, when Ayudhya began to appoint the governors of Nakhon Si Thammarat and it came more securely under central Thai control.⁸

THE FOUNDATION AND ISLAMIZATION OF PATANI

The transition, or transfer, from Langkasuka to Patani nowhere is made clear, and must be inferred from fragmentary evidence. Legends variously attribute Patani's foundation to people from Kedah or from an unidentified Kota Mahligai, while others make of the city's founders totally legendary creatures.⁹ A matter-of-fact explanation of the state's origins is given by Syukri, who suggests that a small coastal fishing village gradually rose at the expense of an earlier inland kingdom in the region and developed into a bustling port, to which the ruler of the inland town — Kota Mahligai — eventually removed his *kraton*, thus founding Patani.¹⁰ The date of this event is no more certain than the details. Tomé Pires, who wrote of the region in 1512—15, spoke of Patani as though it had been in existence for a long time, perhaps since the 1390s, although it still was identified by Chinese mariners as Langkasuka at the time of the voyages of Admiral Chêng-ho (1403—33).¹¹ The date of its foundation thus might best be sought between the middle of the fourteenth and the middle of the fifteenth century, at a time of expanding trade, increasing Thai interest in the Peninsula, and the spread of Islam.

Two conflicting traditions identify the origins of the first rulers of

⁷ Wheatley, 1961, pp. 91—103, 258, 260.

⁸ Wyatt and Bastin, 1968; and forthcoming book by Wyatt.

⁹ See below, Chapter VI, section 1.

¹⁰ Syukri, pp. 24—27.

¹¹ Cortesão, 1944, pp. 2, 105, 110, 232, 244, 268; Wheatley, 1961, pp. 258, 260.

Patani. That represented by the Kedah annals has them coming from Kedah and its first, legendary ruling family. In that account, Patani's first ruler was a woman, whose brothers were the first rulers of Perak and Lan Xang (in Laos) and the second ruler of Kedah.¹² The other tradition, represented by the HP, gives what appear to be Thai names to the ruler of Mahligai, to his son the founder of Patani, and to the latter's three children.¹³ It is likely that the confusion in oral and written traditions centring both on the immediate origins of the ruling dynasty (here called the "Inland Dynasty") and on their Thai or Malay connections with other localities on the peninsula, reflects a period during which Patani's predecessors were eclipsed by its neighbours. When a new Patani came gradually to prominence late in the fifteenth century or early in the sixteenth its "pedigree" could be a matter of dispute between various factions within the state which identified their fortunes, and those of Patani, with competing cultural traditions and political connections.

Patani traditionally has been held to be one of the cradles of Islam in Southeast Asia, yet little can be said with certainty about the coming of Islam to Patani. d'Eredia, writing in 1613, stated that Islam was adopted in Patani and Pahang before being introduced in Malacca.¹⁴ Islam certainly was established in Trengganu by 1386—87 at the latest,¹⁵ and there is no reason why it should not have reached nearby Patani by that date, particularly given Patani's repute as an early centre of Islam. But how, and from where, did it arrive? Local Patani tradition attributes the conversion of the ruler to people from Pasai, present in Patani as a trading community,¹⁶ an explanation which fits well with recent argument on the subject.¹⁷ The date of Patani's conversion, or the date of the first conversions in Patani, may well be as early as this, but it remains to be established.

According to local chronicles there were two rulers of Patani before a datable rebellion against the Thai monarchy of Ayudhya in 1564: Sultans Isma'îl Syah and Mudhaffar Syah. Isma'îl Syah was born the son of Phaya Tu Kerub Mahajana of Kota Mahligai, and before founding Patani was known variously as Phaya Tu Antara (probably "Indra")¹⁸

¹² HMM, pp. 63—64.

¹³ See below, Chapter VI, section 1.

¹⁴ Mills, 1930, p. 49.

¹⁵ Cf. Drewes, 1968, p. 455.

¹⁶ See below, Chapter VI, section 2.

¹⁷ Summarized in Drewes, 1968, pp. 433—59.

¹⁸ For these names see Chapter VI, section 1.

and Phaya Tu Nakpa. He was given the name Isma^cil Syah shortly after the Islamization of the state. Before that event he had three children, his sons Mudhaffar and Manzur,¹⁹ and a daughter, Sitti ^cA'isyah. Mudhaffar succeeded his father. Inasmuch as Mudhaffar's son Raja Bambang was thirty years old around 1563, and therefore was born around 1533, Mudhaffar Syah can have been born no later than about 1513. Given the high probability of much earlier dates for the foundation and Islamization of the city, these men would seem to be less the first rulers of the state than the first about whom memory reveals some historical facts, for the preoccupations ascribed them by the chroniclers certainly were real. The most important of these were their relations with their Thai suzerain to the north.

RELATIONS WITH AYUDHYA

Neither the Royal Chronicles of the Kingdom of Ayudhya nor the HP shed much light on the relations between the Malay states of the isthmian region and their Thai suzerain to the north, although in the HP this is the dominant theme in the story of Patani to the early seventeenth century. It is clear from the information we have, however, that Ayudhya played a prominent role in the history of the region in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, if not before. The origin of their connection is uncertain, but there are some grounds for believing that the Kingdom of Sukhothai was active in the isthmian region as early as the last quarter of the thirteenth century, when a relationship was entered into with the state centred on Nakhon Si Thammarat.²⁰ Such suzerain-vassal relationships survived the collapse of Sukhothai early in the fourteenth century to become a regular fixture in the political relations of the Kingdom of Ayudhya, founded in 1350. Tomé Pires states that Patani and Siam already were well connected by the end of the fourteenth century: King Borommara^cha I (1370—88) was reported to have taken a daughter of "one of the principal mandarins of Patani" as a concubine, and the issue of that union was married to the chief of Singapore who evicted Parameśvara, the founder of Malacca, in 1398, at which time the "mandarin" of Patani led the force which carried out the task.²¹

¹⁹ Both MSS. consistently spell Manžūr; this must be an old mistake (a hypercorrect form?) for Manşūr, the well-known sultan's name. However, in view of the unanimity of the MSS. we have preferred keeping the form found in our source throughout this book. Syukri has the form Manşūr.

²⁰ Wyatt and Bastin, 1968.

²¹ Cortesão, 1944, p. 232.

Whether or not the story is true, it would suggest that Patani early became identified with Thai policy on the peninsula, in opposition to Malacca. (And this fact, indeed, may suggest why the HP is so strangely oblivious of Malacca).

Ayudhya's long struggle with Malacca in the fifteenth century must have involved the isthmian states from Nakhon Si Thammarat and Kedah to Patani and Pahang at least as much as objects of contention as in the role of participants in the conflict. Although Portuguese sources suggest a campaign extended over many years, and are supported, if not corroborated, by the SM and Chinese sources, the Thai chronicles mention only one expedition sent against Malacca, in 1455—56, without any indication of its success or failure.²² However, it is probably the result (or the rationale) of this campaign which is alluded to in the Thai Palatine Law of 1468.²³ In addition, Pires makes it clear that one prominent development of the century was a heightening of the position of Nakhon Si Thammarat in Ayudhya's relations with the Malay states. He described the "Viceroy" of Nakhon Si Thammarat (Ligor) as a "very rich and very important person" who was the "governor" of all the states and provinces from Pahang to Ayudhya.²⁴ It was he who, as late as 1500, led a Thai attack on Pahang on the instructions of the Thai monarch; and even thirty years later Pahang still paid tribute to Ayudhya.²⁵ Patani within such a political and economic framework must have been a subordinate state, clearly within the Thai sphere of influence on the peninsula.

Thai activities in the isthmian region originated in a period of some economic disorganization in the thirteenth century, and it is important to note that the Peninsula provided manpower resources critically important to the Thai in their warfare with Cambodia during the Sukhothai and early Ayudhya periods. Both trade and warfare were important to the survival and development of the Thai empire, which initially had been confined to the western and northern edges of the Caophraya Valley. Immediately prior to the foundation of Ayudhya, Thai vassals had raided Singapore; and the Chinese author who recorded this event seems to suggest that the Thai were engaging in piracy along the east coast of the Malay Peninsula.²⁶ This was a time when trade through

²² BM, p. 31; LP, p. 448.

²³ Wyatt, "Kata Mandiarapala", 1967, pp. 279—86.

²⁴ Cortesão, 1944, pp. 109—10.

²⁵ Linehan, 1936, pp. 17, 20—21.

²⁶ Rockhill, 1915, p. 100.

the Straits of Malacca was subject to the depredations of states along both coasts; a time when all trade was smuggling, and all suppression of smuggling was piracy to one state or another. The Thai appear to have been attempting to create a situation in which they could trade with relative freedom; and, indeed, they seem to have been successful, for Ayudhya immediately upon its foundation was known to Persian traders.²⁷ With established interests in the trade of the peninsula, they would have — and did — resist the rise of Malacca at the beginning of the fifteenth century, perhaps with the support of the trading and political bloc they had constructed in the previous century.

Economically, Patani was involved in this system both in the long-distance trade with China, carried on in Chinese junks, and in a more localized trade with Siam and other Malay and Indonesian ports. Beyond the full reach of Malacca's power ("Malacca did not dare to take issue against powerful Patani, which was inhabited by Malays but where Siamese influence was strong"²⁸), Patani could function to circumvent Portuguese Malacca's predominant commercial influence in the sixteenth century, serving as an entrepot to which pepper could be brought from the surrounding region to be traded to Chinese merchants in return for luxury textiles and porcelain.²⁹ The Portuguese capture of Malacca encouraged the trade of such ports as Patani, especially when Portuguese exactions and extortion in Malacca made trade there increasingly unprofitable.³⁰ Indian textiles were brought to Patani to be exchanged for pepper, gold, or foodstuffs; and both Chinese goods and Indian textiles presumably were marketed by Malay merchants of Patani in Thailand and through the Indonesian Archipelago, to the north coast ports of Java and Sumatra, and to Makasar.³¹ Patani thus was part of a general trading system which arose in reaction to Portuguese Malacca and included such ports as Aceh in North Sumatra, Bantam in West Java, and Makasar on Sulawesi.

The economic and political position of Patani can be glimpsed in incidents of the latter half of the sixteenth century recorded in external sources and echoed in local traditions. Patani's trading position in the earlier half of the century may have been assured by its political relationship with Ayudhya. Patani could engage in conflict with her neighbours — as she did with Johore, Pahang, and perhaps Kalantan in the 1530s

²⁷ Wang, 1964, pp. 94—96; Syed Naguib, 1965, pp. 260—64.

²⁸ Meilink-Roelofs, 1962, p. 29.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 169—70.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 165, 258, 272, 289.

and 1540s³² — with the understanding that Thai power could be relied upon to preserve her position should it be seriously threatened. Ayudhya, however, came under attack from Burma after mid-century, and Patani's obligations to her suzerain became more onerous. Naval forces were called up from the isthmian region from 1552 onwards, and were employed constantly in the decade that followed.³³ Although King Cakkraphat in 1560 expressed his dissatisfaction with the response of his provinces and vassals to military and naval conscription,³⁴ Patani certainly contributed a force of some 200 vessels and men to the Thai defense in the campaign of 1563—64. In the short run, Patani gained manpower in the form of war prisoners (people from Pegu and Lan Xang are mentioned in the HP³⁵), but Patani's security was endangered, rather than strengthened, when the war turned definitely against Ayudhya in 1564, in which year King Cakkraphat had to leave his capital to concede to Burmese demands, sending his son and ministers off to Burma as hostages and yielding up three (or four) of his prized white elephants.

To Ayudhya's vassals who participated in the campaign and had first-hand knowledge of their suzerain's inability to defend them there were two choices open: to pledge their renewed support — perhaps exacting a higher price for it, as the King of Lan Xang did by requesting the hand of the Thai king's daughter³⁶ — or to rebel and cut their ties to Ayudhya. Patani chose the latter course. Immediately following the defeat, as the Burmese headed back to Pegu, the ruler of Patani, who had come with his boats and men to assist the Thai, rebelled and penetrated to the very heart of the royal palace compound before being driven off by a counterattack.³⁷ This rebellion ended with the disappearance and presumed death of Sultan Mudhaffar Syah of Patani, who was succeeded by his younger brother, Manzur Syah, probably in the same year, 1564.

During the period from 1564 until the 1590s, when Ayudhya was struggling for its survival against both Burma and Cambodia, Patani appears to have been relatively more independent of Thai influence than

³² Faria e Sousa, 1965, I, p. 301, II, pp. 30—31; Tiele, *De Europeërs*, 1880, pp. 301—3.

³³ BM, pp. 47, 51, 55; LP, pp. 457—58.

³⁴ BM, p. 76.

³⁵ HP, p. 18; Chapter VI, section 5.

³⁶ BM, pp. 94—98; Ukham, 1959, pp. 35—40.

³⁷ BM, p. 94; LP, p. 460; RAE, p. 106. The Patani version is given below, Malay text, section 5, see also Chapter VI.

she was either earlier or later, a situation productive of mixed results. On the one hand, Patani probably was the object of renewed pressures from her Malay neighbours to the south, while, on the other hand, her foreign trade certainly expanded. Shortly after the 1564 rebellion, from which Mudhaffar never returned, the HP states that news of the Sultan's death and the depopulation of Patani reached Palembang in South Sumatra, and two Palembang attacks on Patani ensued.³⁸ Nothing in Malay or Thai sources confirms such events with respect to Palembang; but there are numerous references to Achehnese, Aru, and Johore attacks on the other chief centres in the Thai portion of the peninsula during this period, up to and beyond the turn of the century.³⁹ The sources preclude accurate dating of most of these episodes, but they all fit well within the period when Ayudhya was preoccupied with the military threat of Burma and Cambodia.

Not long before the death of Manzur Syah in 1572, the king decided to send a mission of homage to Siam, in part "so that We may hear some news of Our brother who stayed behind in Siam" (Mudhaffar Syah), and in part "according to the tradition of his elder brother when he used to pay homage to the Phracao [King of Ayudhya]." ⁴⁰ Given Patani's recent rebellion, it is not surprising that none of Sultan Manzur Syah's servants wished to undertake a mission to the Thai capital; yet it is probable that troubles with its southern neighbours and commercial competitors led Patani to seek an accommodation with the Thai, particularly when after 1571 Ayudhya began to recover following the return of Prince Naresuan from Burma.⁴¹

INTERNAL POLITICS

At the death of Manzur Syah in 1572, Patani entered upon a period of difficult internal politics. In line for the throne at that time were the eight surviving children of Sultans Mudhaffar Syah and Manzur Syah. Two of Mudhaffar's children still were living, Raja Bambang, his son by a secondary wife, who was born in ca. 1533 and must have been 39 years old in 1572; and a posthumous son, Patik Siam, born in 1563, a month after his father left for Ayudhya, who at the time of the death of Manzur Syah was nine years old.⁴² On his deathbed, Manzur ordered

³⁸ Below, Malay text, section 7, see also Chapter VI.

³⁹ RRMNST, p. 95; Prachum phra tamra, 1967; and Si Wqrawat, 1962, pp. 72—77.

⁴⁰ HP text, pp. 30, 32.

⁴¹ LP, p. 462.

⁴² HP text, pp. 20, 36.

that Patik Siam should succeed him, thus bypassing both Raja Bambang and his own children, of whom he had six.⁴³ The three eldest all were daughters, named as colours of the rainbow: Ijau (Green), Biru (Blue), and Ungu (Violet). After them came a son by a secondary wife, Raja Bima, and then a son by his consort, Bahdur Syah. A sixth child died in her infancy.⁴⁴ Thus when Sultan Patik Siam at the age of nine years came to the throne in Patani in 1572, with his aunt Raja 'A'ishah (the last surviving child of Isma'il Syah) as his regent, he was surrounded by numerous rivals whose claims to the throne were as good or nearly as good as his own. The political struggles which ensued, as reported in the chronicle, may simply reflect this dynastic situation, but they may in addition reflect both internal factions and the external pressures which so complicated the politics of Patani in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

The period of greatest instability lasted from 1572 to 1584, at the end of which a queen was put on the throne of the state. The HP⁴⁵ treats this period in a somewhat suspicious fashion, detailing two palace revolutions in which the two sons of Mudhaffar and Manzur by secondary wives, Raja Bambang and Raja Bima, killed the two sons of the same sultans by their consorts, Sultan Patik Siam and Sultan Bahdur Syah. Of the full-blooded descendants of the royal line, this left only the three daughters of Sultan Manzur Syah, who succeeded to the throne in order. In both cases, regicide was attributed at least in part to the urgings and machinations of court officials, both of whom met violent ends.⁴⁶ One need accept neither story to recognize the deep conflict which underlay political power in the small capital and, indeed, survived beyond this period.

Many European visitors commented upon Patani's century-long rule by women — some more favourably than others. A misogynist somewhat fancifully commented that Patani's government was good, even though the state was ruled by women.⁴⁷ A highly interesting explanation of the origins of queenly rule in Patani was offered by Nicholas Gervaise, writing in the 1680s.

⁴³ HP text, p. 29.

⁴⁴ See below, Chapter VI, section 8, concerning the problem of Raja Kuning. Names of colours as names for noble persons are quite common in Malay tradition; see e.g., the names Tun Hitam and Tun Putih for many of the ladies occurring in the later version of the SM (De Josselin de Jong, 1961, pp. 78, 85).

⁴⁵ HP text, pp. 36—42.

⁴⁶ T, pp. 28—29, does not involve these officials.

⁴⁷ RR, I, 137.

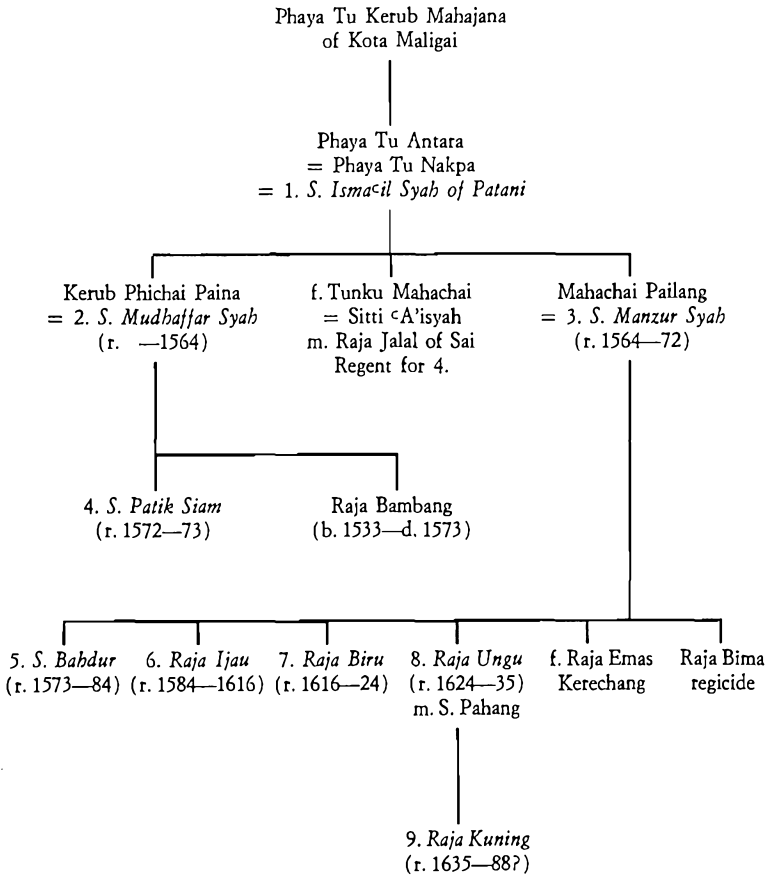


Table 1

THE INLAND DYNASTY OF PATANI

Abbreviations: S. = Sultan; m. = married; r. = reigned.

All those who ruled in Patani are in italics.

For details see Chapter VI, sections 8, 15, 16—20.

Patany n'est pas plus étendu que les trois autres [Johore, Jambi, et Kedah], mais il est bien plus fameux, & mieux connu par l'Histoire de ses revolutions & par l'estat present de son Gouvernement. On dit que ses Peuples lassez d'obeyir à des Rois qui les maltraitoient, secoüerent le joug, & qu'ayant fait descendre du Trône celui qui regnoit alors; ils y

furent monter à sa place une Princesse à qui ils donnerent le Titre de Reine sans luy en donner l'autorité, ils firent choix des plus habiles d'entre eux pour gouverner en son nom & sans sa participation, car elle n'entre point dans le secret des affaires, & elle se doit contenter des respects & des hommages que chacun luy rend extérieurement comme à sa Souveraine, ils ne luy laissent pas même le liberté du choix de ses premiers Officiers, mais ils ne luy refusent jamais rien de tout ce qui peut contribuer à ses plaisirs, rien ne l'empêche de s'y abandonner tout entière & sans reserve, car s'il ne luy est pas permis de se marier, il ne luy est pas aussi deffendu d'avoir des galants, elle en a autant qu'il luy en plaist, & elle a même dequoy leur faire des presens considerables; il y a un fond qui est destiné pour fournir à la dépense de ses habits & à l'entretien de sa maison: Elle demeure ordinairement dans Patany qui est la Ville Capitale de son Royaume; la fleur d'or qu'elle paye tous les ans au Roy de Siam se presente toujours en son nom, & non point de la part des Ministres qui ont le gouvernement du Royaume.⁴⁸

(Patani is no more extensive than the other three [Johore, Jambi, and Kedah], but it is much more famous, and best known by the history of its revolutions and by the present state of its government. It is said that its people were weary of obeying kings who maltreated them, and shook off their yoke. Having forced him who was reigning to descend from the throne, they put in his place a princess, to whom they gave the title of queen, without giving her any authority. They chose from amongst themselves the most able to govern in her name without her participation, so she did not enter at all into the secrets of affairs, and she had to content herself with the respect and homage which everyone formally rendered her as their sovereign. They did not allow her the freedom to choose her own high officials, but they never refused her anything which could contribute to her pleasure. Nothing prevented her from abandoning herself entirely and without reserve, as if they did not allow her to marry, they also did not forbid her lovers, and she had whomsoever pleased her, and she even had the means whereby to give considerable presents. There was a fund which was intended to pay for the cost of her clothing and the upkeep of her house. She lives ordinarily in Patani, which is the capital city of her kingdom. The golden flower which is paid annually to the King of Siam is always presented in her name, and never on behalf of the ministers who govern the kingdom.)

Her amorous adventures aside, perhaps the most interesting feature of this description is the claim that the ministers of Patani ran the state, a suggestion all the more intriguing from the fact that our text begins to treat Patani's bendaharas, or prime ministers, as individuals important in the state immediately upon the accession of the first queen, Raja Ijau, in 1584.⁴⁹ And it is possible that one bendahara, Datuk Cerak Kin, virtually ruled Patani during the reign of Raja Kuning (1635—88?).⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Gervaise, 1690, pp. 316—17.

⁴⁹ On this date, see Wyatt, 1967, p. 37.

⁵⁰ See below, Chapter III, p. 56 and Chapter VI, section 27.

THE FIRST QUEENS (1584—1624)

The fact that the first two queens of Patani, Raja Ijau and Raja Biru, were known both locally and abroad by the Thai term *phra-cau*; and the fact their successor, Raja Ungu, specifically is recounted as having refused to bear that title — later to rebel against Ayudhya — strongly suggests that they maintained the relationship with Ayudhya established early in the kingdom's history and reaffirmed by Sultan Manzur Syah by 1572. The period up to the death of Raja Biru in 1623 was considerably more complex than this single theme, however, for Patani's relationship with Ayudhya must have been founded upon a delicate balance of commercial interests, the internal factionalism of Patani, and its relations with its Malay neighbours.

Patani undoubtedly enjoyed its greatest prosperity during the reign of its first two queens. In terms of international trade and political conditions, this was a period when the Portuguese definitely had lost their grip over the trade even of the Straits of Malacca, and during which the alternate trading route based on Aceh, Bantam, and Patani was most profitable (and indeed it is no accident that the first northern European traders to enter the region at the turn of the seventeenth century headed precisely for those three ports). It was, in addition, a period (1589—1641) during which the Japanese briefly were open to extensive overseas trade, stimulating the export of deerskins and sappanwood from the Malay Peninsula and Thailand in return for silver, copper, and silks. When Peter Floris lived for some time in Patani in the years 1612—13, he observed that Patani was trading with virtually the whole of Southeast Asia, with ships arriving from and departing for Ayudhya, Brunei, Jambi, the north coast ports of Java, Makasar, the Moluccas, China, Japan, Cambodia, and Sumatra, as well as dealing with the Dutch, the English and the Portuguese,⁵¹ the first Dutch ship reaching Patani in 1601 and the English in 1612.⁵² It undoubtedly was the prosperous trade of Patani which attracted there around 1580 the famous Teochiu Chinese pirate, Lin Tao-ch'ien (vulg. Lim Toh Khiem),⁵³ with whom the casting of Patani's great cannon is associated in some local legends.⁵⁴

This trade certainly would have been too valuable to encourage the

⁵¹ Moreland, 1934, *passim*.

⁵² Terpstra, 1938, pp. 1—2; Anderson, 1890, p. 46.

⁵³ Hsü, 1946, pp. 111—21, made available to us through the courtesy of Professor Wang Gungwu.

⁵⁴ PMP, pp. 1—3; Wyatt, 1967, pp. 22—24.

taking of political risks on the part of Patani. Good relations with Ayudhya, once the kingdom had recovered from the wars with Burma, would have ensured Patani the protection it required to ensure the continuity of its trade. Floris goes so far as to state that "Thus by Pegu's destruction was Siam received [*sic*; revived], and has since brought in subjection the Kingdoms of Cambaya [Cambodia], Lanjanh [Lan Xang, Laos], Jagomai [Chiangmai], Lugor [Nakhon Si Thammarat], Patane, Teneserin [Tenasserim] and divers others"⁵⁵ before 1605, although whether the subjection of Patani was brought about by force is doubtful. Patani certainly did have enemies to worry about and fear. Acheh, Johore, and Pahang were embroiled with each other, as well as with the Portuguese, and their separate attacks northwards along the east coast of the peninsula are attested in both European and Thai accounts.⁵⁶ To complicate matters still further, Japanese traders and mercenaries twice burned Patani in the first years of the seventeenth century,⁵⁷ and a rebellion of Javanese slaves in 1613 burned the town yet again.⁵⁸

Already in the reign of Raja Ijau, Patani was involved in the politics of her Malay neighbours. At the beginning of her reign, her sister Raja Ungu was married to Sultan 'Abdul-Ghafur Mohaidin Syah (1590—1614) of Pahang.⁵⁹ Given the close connections between Pahang and Johore during this period, it is not surprising that Patani should have become closely involved with Johore as well, and increasingly so as Johore's initiative soon came to outweigh that of Pahang. In these affairs, the Dutch quickly became involved. In 1602 Raja Bungsu, the brother of the ruler of Johore, came aboard Heemskerck's ship when in Patani (!) to ask for help against Patani.⁶⁰ A few years later, in 1609, the Dutch were informed of a quarrel between Patani and Johore. During a visit to Johore in January, 1609, Admiral Matelieff was visited by the king's brother, Raja Saberang; and "among other secrets" confided to the admiral was a story that the youngest brother of the sultan of Johore, "the king of Patani", had been robbed of his kingdom and his life by the ruling queen of Patani on account of his adultery with his concubine. Raja Saberang asked the Dutch to help him expel the queen

⁵⁵ Moreland, 1934, p. 35.

⁵⁶ Moreland, 1934, pp. 41, 63, 72—73, 77, 82, 86; and see note 39 above.

⁵⁷ Moreland, 1934, p. 36.

⁵⁸ Moreland, 1934, p. 94.

⁵⁹ Linehan, 1936, p. 33.

⁶⁰ Winstedt, 1932, p. 36.

of Patani and divide the realm of Patani between them.⁶¹ A somewhat different version of the story was given in a written version sent through Admiral Verhoeven the same year to Holland, according to which the late sultan of Johore (ʿAli Jalla ʿAbdul-Jalil Syah, 1580—97) had married his second son to the daughter of the king of Patani at the latter's request; and the prince's youngest brother had accompanied him to live in Patani. The youngest brother misconducted himself with the wife of his elder brother, and the offended husband had both his younger brother and his wife killed for their adultery. Thereupon, "the king of Patani" in his turn had the elder brother killed.⁶² Whatever the details — and the accounts are obscure, when not downright contradictory — the significance of this European evidence is to depict a relationship which was close, and in which Johore and Pahang appear to have been at some disadvantage, for Johore repeatedly was seeking Dutch aid against Patani, while Patani appears to have needed none. In addition, Patani was sufficiently powerful to be able to blockade the trade of Pahang in 1613, forcing Sultan ʿAbdul-Ghafur to visit Patani with his wife, Raja Ungu of Patani;⁶³ and when he died the following year, Raja Ungu returned to live in Patani. In addition, by the time of Floris's visit to Patani in 1612—13, the daughter of the third of Patani's royal sisters was married to another prince of Johore, the Raja of Siak.⁶⁴ Despite, or perhaps because of, such close connections, Patani's relations with Johore were far from peaceful, and they certainly were intensive over a period extending from the turn of the century to the 1640's and beyond.

By the reign of Raja Biru (1616—23), Patani's position seems to have come to a delicate balance between Thai and Johore influence. Raja Biru appears to have been more friendly with the Thai than her predecessor had been. (Alternatively, it is possible and even likely that Siam again was becoming more active on the Malay Peninsula than it had been during the period of warfare and instability that had preceded the reign of King Song Tham (1610—28).) The HP tells us that the "junior aide-de-camp (*bentara kiri*)" was given the Thai title *khun* (a rank of nobility);⁶⁵ and a Thai officer, Qkphaya Deca, who may have been the eldest son of the ruler of Nakhon Si Thammarat,⁶⁶ asked for and

⁶¹ *Begin ende Voortganch*, Verhoeven, pp. 43—44.

⁶² *Begin ende Voortganch*, Verhoeven, pp. 205—6.

⁶³ Moreland, 1934, pp. 72—73.

⁶⁴ Moreland, 1934, p. 63.

⁶⁵ HP text, p. 50.

⁶⁶ Terpstra, 1938, p. 105. Cf. Wyatt, 1967, p. 30, n. 61.

received in marriage the queen's niece, apparently Raja Kuning, daughter of Raja Ungu by the Sultan of Pahang.⁶⁷

RAJA UNGU AND SIAM

For reasons unexplained, but which must be related to the collapse of Johore at the hands of Aceh in 1615,⁶⁸ as well as to great internal disturbances in Ayudhya in the later years of King Song Tham's reign and after his death in 1628,⁶⁹ Patani adopted an anti-Siamese policy under Raja Ungu, who succeeded to the throne around 1624.⁷⁰ The HP specifically states that she refused to allow herself to be called by the Thai title *Phrao-cao*,⁷¹ and goes on to say that she arranged for the marriage of her daughter, Raja Kuning, to the Sultan of Johore, notwithstanding her earlier marriage to Qkphaya Deca, who would appear to have still been alive.⁷² There followed warfare between the two states, explained in Thai and European accounts as rebellion against the crown and in the HP as a Siamese attack.

King Song Tham of Ayudhya died in December 1628, and there ensued a long period of internal political crisis which persisted up to the accession of King Prasat Thong in 1630. At that time, Patani already was in rebellion, and Nakhon Si Thammarat "was threatened with a serious war by the people of Patania."⁷³ The events which followed are described by Jeremias van Vliet, who arrived in Ayudhya in 1633 and wrote his account in 1636 and 1640.⁷⁴ Noting that Patani long had sent tribute to the kings of Siam, Van Vliet explained that the rebellion arose

by the ambition of the late princess [= ruler, Raja Ungu] to obtain the highest power and by the great authority of some mandarins especially Dato Bestaar (who were not loved by most of the Orangh Cayos)...⁷⁵

And so, cloaking their rebellion in terms of legitimacy,

...the ambitious princes and mandarins... made known in public that

⁶⁷ HP text, p. 51.

⁶⁸ Winstedt, 1932, p. 35.

⁶⁹ Wood, 1959, pp. 168—76.

⁷⁰ Wyatt, 1967, p. 30, n. 57; and see below, Chapter VI, section 16—20.

⁷¹ HP text, p. 51.

⁷² HP text, pp. 51—54.

⁷³ Van Vliet, 1938, p. 131.

⁷⁴ Van Vliet, 1958, p. vii.

⁷⁵ Van Vliet, 1910, p. 37.

the king of Siam did not have the right to wear the crown and that he has killed the true kings and their heirs⁷⁶ which of course was absolutely true of Prasat Thong. Patani's rebelliousness was one of the grounds on which this man succeeded in persuading the head of the royal Japanese bodyguard, Q̄kya Senaphimuk (Yamada Nagamasa), to accept appointment as the governor of Nakhon Si Thammarat, where he arrived late in 1629.⁷⁷ About nine months later,⁷⁸ in mid-summer of 1630, Patani attacked Phatthalung and Nakhon Si Thammarat. Although the attack was repulsed, Yamada was wounded and died of a poisoned bandage placed on his wound by the brother of the governor whom he had replaced.⁷⁹

The king of Siam in 1631 intended to punish Patani, "which failed to recognise the Siamese supremacy, relying on Portuguese assistance,"⁸⁰ but late in 1631 he had to employ his forces in fighting Cambodia, Burma, and the Japanese community in Ayudhya which had taken up arms against him.⁸¹ By 1632, he was completely occupied with these troubles. Dutch ships calling at Patani late that year found the Queen unwilling to subdue her hostility to the Thai king, "whom she calls an usurper of the Crownland, a rascal, murderer, and traitor",⁸² and as late as the beginning of 1633, Yamada's son still was in Nakhon Si Thammarat, having been promised 3,000 men from Patani to enable him to continue his own rebellion.⁸³ Retribution, however, was coming: Nakhon Si Thammarat was taken early in 1633 by a force of 10,000 men sent from the capital,⁸⁴ while the king worked to gain Dutch naval aid for the expedition against Patani planned for March, 1634.⁸⁵ Gathering forces from a subdued Nakhon Si Thammarat, from Tenasserim, Kedah, and Phatthalung, and from various foreigners living in Siam, to add to the royal forces of some 30,000 troops,⁸⁶ the king sent them to attack Patani in May of 1634, without, however, the Dutch squadron, which arrived too late to be of any assistance.⁸⁷ Meanwhile, Patani had

⁷⁶ Van Vliet, 1910, p. 37.

⁷⁷ Van Vliet, 1958, pp. xxvi—xxvii.

⁷⁸ Van Vliet, 1958, p. xxviii.

⁷⁹ Van Vliet, 1938, pp. 139, 194.

⁸⁰ DR, 5 Dec. 1631.

⁸¹ DR, 11—30 Dec. 1631.

⁸² DR, 26 Nov. 1632.

⁸³ Van Vliet, 1938, p. 217.

⁸⁴ Van Vliet, 1938, p. 143; DR, 9 March 1633.

⁸⁵ DR, 16 December 1633.

⁸⁶ DR, 2 January 1634.

⁸⁷ Van Vliet, 1910, pp. 37—40; Van Vliet, 1938, pp. 148—49; DR, 9 Nov. 1634.

gathered troops from the Malay states to the south, including 50 ships and 5,000 men from Johore and Pahang.⁸⁸ Although at one point the Thai penetrated even into Patani's fortress, the city held firm against the invaders, mainly because of the disorder of the attacking troops, the quarrels and competition among its commanders, and the commanding general's decision to retreat when supplies ran low.⁸⁹

Owing mainly to the scope of the preparations required, as well as to a bad rice harvest in 1635,⁹⁰ a second campaign against Patani was postponed until 1636. A large new army was raised and ships built for the expected assault. Meanwhile, the Queen of Patani died, in 1635.⁹¹ She was succeeded by her daughter, Raja Kuning. Informed of the preparations being made to attack her, the new queen obtained the mediation of the Sultan of Kedah. Apparently at his instigation, the Thai sent ambassadors to Patani in October, 1635, to treat with the new queen and signify King Prasat Thong's willingness to deal leniently with her.⁹² Accordingly, in March, 1636, she sent her envoys to Ayudhya and then, in August, her "legate" to present the *bunga mas* of tribute. "This was accepted by his Majesty with great pleasure, and herewith peace was made between the two kingdoms. No claims were made from either side for insults suffered or for damages."⁹³ It surely is significant that, unlike her mother, Raja Kuning again was styled *Phra-cao*;⁹⁴ and she herself even visited Ayudhya in 1641 "to renew the peace (*om den vrede te vernieuwen*)".⁹⁵

RAJA KUNING, JOHORE, AND SONGKHLA

Whether or not she had been married to the Sultan of Johore around 1623, Raja Kuning had a great deal to do with him and his family in the 1640's. For Johore, this was a brief period during which Sultan 'Abdul-Jalil Syah (1623—77) was more or less at peace with the world, free of Achehnese interference and active in trade, especially with the Dutch (following on the fall of Malacca), and he was anxious to renew Johore's influence in Pahang.⁹⁶ The Sultan himself visited Patani where

⁸⁸ DR, 9 November 1634.

⁸⁹ DR, 9 November 1634.

⁹⁰ Van Vliet, 1910, p. 41.

⁹¹ DR, 28 May 1642.

⁹² DR, 26 March 1636.

⁹³ Van Vliet, 1910, p. 41.

⁹⁴ HP text, p. 58.

⁹⁵ DR, 28 May 1642.

⁹⁶ Winstedt, 1962, p. 139.

he spent a few years, returning to Johore in 1641.⁹⁷ Three years later, the queen of Patani, Raja Kuning, was said to have been married to a younger brother of the Sultan of Johore.⁹⁸ Before another year passed, however, this prince was forced to flee from Patani, while his mother and followers were massacred.⁹⁹ The HP explains the incident in terms of another adulterous affair, this time between the Queen's husband and a court singer, Dang Sirat.¹⁰⁰ Whatever the cause, the conflict was sufficiently serious to cause the Dutch Governor of Malacca, Jeremias Van Vliet, to warn the Dutch Company of an impending war.¹⁰¹ Later that year, in October 1644, the Company learned that a Patani envoy had been sent to Johore to settle the differences between the two states, and he was successful.¹⁰²

What happened to Patani over the remainder of the century is quite unclear. There are numerous references in Dutch and English sources to a queen still reigning in Patani in the years between 1671¹⁰³ and 1686 or 1688,¹⁰⁴ but no definite information for the interval between 1645 and 1671. What seems consistent in the sources are references to conflict between Patani and Songkhla. In 1671,

The wars between the Queen of Patani and the King of Singora continue still, notwithstanding this King [of Siam] hath sent his ambassadors to both to mediate between them.¹⁰⁵

It was the same conflict which still continued in 1678—79; Siam assisting Ligor and Patani against the "King of Songkhla" who could not be dislodged, and who gained from gun-running by English adventurers.¹⁰⁶ Finally, probably in 1680, Songkhla seems to have been defeated;¹⁰⁷ for the French travellers visiting Siam between 1684 and 1689 made no mention of any such conflict continuing, though they do mention the queen of Patani¹⁰⁸ and they looked favourably on the prospect of accepting the cession of Songkhla to France.¹⁰⁹ It is highly

⁹⁷ DR, 21 November 1640, pp. 85—86.

⁹⁸ Winstedt, 1962, p. 139.

⁹⁹ DR, 1644—45, 6 June, p. 86.

¹⁰⁰ HP text, pp. 59—65.

¹⁰¹ DR, 1644—45, 6 June, p. 86.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 92.

¹⁰³ RR, II, 101.

¹⁰⁴ Gervaise, 1690, pp. 316—17.

¹⁰⁵ RR, II, 101.

¹⁰⁶ RR, II, 167, 177—81, 184, 189—90, 200—1, 214—15, 220—21, 237—39, 267.

¹⁰⁷ RR, II, 267; cf. Gervaise, 1690, p. 61.

¹⁰⁸ Gervaise, 1690, pp. 316—17.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Hutchinson, 1968, pp. 36—38.

likely that more than Siamese force and the sack of Songkhla brought the Patani-Songkhla war at least temporarily to an end at this time: Raja Kuning could not have lived and reigned much longer than 1688. It would appear to have been her whom Peter Floris saw in 1612—13 and termed Raja Ungu's "little daughter";¹¹⁰ or else one must accept, for lack of better evidence, the word of the HP that she was only 12 years old when she married Qkphaya Deca, which would suggest that she was born about 1610.¹¹¹

THE KALANTAN DYNASTY

The history of Patani from the time of the last queen of the Inland Dynasty to the Thai invasion of 1785 is scarcely treated in any outside source. The English mariner Alexander Hamilton visited Patani ca. 1718 but had little to say about the state, which by this time had become much less important as a trading centre on the peninsula than it had been earlier. As Hamilton explained, Patani

was formerly the greatest Port for Trade in all those Seas, but the Inhabitants being too potent to be afraid of the King's Laws, they became so insolent, that Merchants were obliged to remove their Commerce to Countries of more Security. It was the staple Port for Surat Shipping, and from *Goa, Malabar* and *Chormondel* they had a good Trade, and so they had from *China, Tunquin, Cambodia* and *Siam*; but the Merchants finding no Restraint on Robbers and Murderers, were obliged to give their Trade a Turn into another Chanel, which was a great Advantage to *Batavia, Siam* and *Malacca*, where they were kindly used, and in those Ports it has continued ever since.¹¹²

One might seek in Hamilton's explanation some elements of a more general economic argument for the causes of Patani's decline by the eighteenth century. It is possible that firm Dutch naval preponderance in the Straits of Malacca, the virtual closure of the Japanese market, a decline in the demand for the products of the Malay Peninsula, or a levelling off of the volume of local trade, may have contributed to its decline. But local political factors surely were important.

One must take seriously the account of political events during the reign of the Kalantan Dynasty in Patani which is presented in the HP, for this was a period of which the authors of the manuscript apparently had considerable personal knowledge.¹¹³ The story is long and involved,

¹¹⁰ Moreland, 1934, p. 63.

¹¹¹ HP text, p. 51.

¹¹² Hamilton, 1930, p. 84.

¹¹³ See below, Chapters III and VI, section 23—25, 28.

and need not be repeated here;¹¹⁴ but its main themes require emphasis. The most consistent feature of this period was the great political turmoil, centring on the office of the prime minister — thus reinforcing Gervaise's statement reproduced above. Whether or not the rulers of the dynasty really came from the royal line of Kalantan (and Kalantan's history during this period is at least as confused as that of Patani¹¹⁵), they very obviously were just as much figurehead rulers as the queens they succeeded. It is notable that each change of ruler during the Kalantan Dynasty was accomplished after consultation with the notables of the state;¹¹⁶ and notable too that the bendaharas and their rivals seem regularly to have preferred ruling in the name of a king to taking power in their own hands.¹¹⁷

In terms of the tentative chronology put forward below,¹¹⁸ the Kalantan Dynasty ruled in Patani for 41 years. There were eight rulers during this period — one of whom was a queen from outside the family — and ten different bendaharas who served a total of fourteen different terms; figures which surely reflect serious political difficulties, as does the reign of Raja Déwi as queen from 1707 to 1716. At several points in this period it is possible to identify pro-Thai and anti-Thai factions; but on the whole the conflict would appear to have reflected personal ambitions and personalities rather than great cultural or political issues (with the notable exception of the rebellion against a Thai governor and bendahara around 1700).¹¹⁹ The Thai, both from the capital in Ayudhya and from Thai provincial centres neighbouring Patani, frequently were on both sides of the conflict in Patani; a fact which is not surprising in a period when Thai central control was weak, and the southern provinces in particular were giving the capital a great deal of trouble. As in Cambodia at the same time, the situation was ripe for outside interference, encouraged by local contenders for power and made possible in the absence of serious warfare with other major powers.

This was a situation, however, which could not last indefinitely: its toll in human life and economic disruption must have been severe. It would appear that the Kalantan Dynasty finally failed Patani. Baginda, whose second reign probably was from 1721 to 1728, was the last ruler

¹¹⁴ An attempt at reconstructing this period is given below, Chapter VI, section 23—25, 28.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Rentse, 1934; Mohd. Taib Osman, 1961.

¹¹⁶ E.g., HP text, pp. 74—77.

¹¹⁷ HP text, pp. 77—78.

¹¹⁸ See below, Chapter VI, section 23—25, 28. A survey is given in Table 2.

¹¹⁹ HP text, p. 85.

<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Posthumous Name</i>	<i>Dates</i> ¹	<i>Bendahara</i> ²
Raja Bakal	Marhum Teluk	1688—1690	Datuk Terenam
Raja Emas Kalantan	Marhum Kalantan	1690—1704	Datuk Dipera'
			Datuk Bangrekam
			Tuk Tua
			Datuk Sai
			Tuk Tua
			Alung Cang?
			Tuk Tua
			Phra Phetphichai
			Datuk Kempul
			Datuk Tanah Mérah
Raja Emas Jayam	Baginda	1704—1707	(Datuk Bangrekam?)
			Datuk Tarab
Raja Déwi	Phra-cau	1707—1716	
Raja Bendang Badan	Paduka Syah Alam	1716—1720	
Raja Laksamana Dajang		1720—1721	(Datuk Tarab deposed)
Baginda		1721—1728	Datuk Tarab
Alung Yunus		1728—1729	

Notes:

¹ On the chronology of the Kalantan Dynasty, see Chapter VI, sections 23—25, 28.

² See below, HP, Malay text, part III.

Table 2

THE KALANTAN DYNASTY: RULERS AND BENDAHARAS

of Patani specifically to have Kalantan connections. Alung Yunus, who followed him, was an unknown figure, and reigned for only eleven months; and after him, as the chronicler states,

Patani no longer had a king, up to the present time. The country of Patani has been in great confusion and its people suffer from many ills, while rules and customs are no longer observed.¹²⁰

THE LATER HISTORY OF PATANI

The subsequent history of Patani can be briefly told, as it is essentially the story of Patani's gradual incorporation into the Kingdom of Thailand, centred after 1782 on Bangkok. Following the end of the Kalantan Dynasty there appears to have been a long period of troubles, when Patani was without a ruler and various officers vied for power.¹²¹ The wars between Thailand and Burma, beginning in the 1760s, exacerbated

¹²⁰ HP text, p. 78.

¹²¹ HP text, p. 78; Wyatt, 1967, pp. 33—34; Syukri, pp. 80—81.

Patani's position, as Burmese troops on several occasions campaigned in the peninsula region. When Ayudhya fell to the Burmese in 1767, Nakhon Si Thammarat went into rebellion and contended with the Governor of Tak, Phraya Tak (Sin) (King Taksin), and others for the succession to the throne. Patani was a natural object of Nakhon Si Thammarat's troops, which seem to have taken the town in 1768.¹²² Patani escaped attack by Taksin's forces in 1769—70 only by swearing allegiance to the new king.¹²³ Patani refused, however, to assist the Thai in repulsing another Burmese attack in 1776,¹²⁴ and it was only a matter of time before its resistance to Thai control led to a full-scale attack, which ensued in the wake of another Thai campaign against the Burmese, who had marched through the whole of the isthmian region in 1785.¹²⁵ On this occasion, Patani again refused to do homage to the Thai,¹²⁶ and the Thai responded with a massive invasion which succeeded in taking the town and installing a vassal ruler.¹²⁷ His attempts to organize resistance to the Thai only provoked yet another attack in 1791, after which a Thai governor was installed in Patani, while Thai settlers were introduced and the new governor's relatives given government positions.¹²⁸

On several occasions in the nineteenth century Patani attempted to rebel against the exercise of Thai authority, or became embroiled in her neighbour's attempts to do so; and each time the consequence was the further reduction of Patani's strength and independence. Particularly fateful was the rebellion of a Malay governor of Patani in 1817, after which Patani was divided into seven small provinces — Patani, Yaring, Saiburi, Ra-ngae, Yala, Rahman, and Nongcik — “for the reason that [Pa]tani's extent had been great and its strength considerable” while Songkhla, responsible for Thai control over Patani, “had few forces and was not likely to be able to control Tani [alone].”¹²⁹ Songkhla, however, was not consistently successful thereafter: troops from the capital had to be sent south to put down a Patani rebellion associated with the Kedah troubles in 1830—32.¹³⁰ Thereafter Bangkok generally was able

¹²² Wyatt, 1967, pp. 33—34; Syukri, p. 81.

¹²³ Syukri, pp. 82—83.

¹²⁴ Syukri, p. 84.

¹²⁵ Syukri, pp. 84—92; Prawat, paras. 44—47; PMP, pp. 4—5.

¹²⁶ Prawat, para. 44; Syukri, pp. 85—86.

¹²⁷ Syukri, pp. 93—94.

¹²⁸ Syukri, pp. 94—100; Prawat, paras. 45—47; and PMP, pp. 4—5.

¹²⁹ Prawat, para. 49; PMP, pp. 7—12; Syukri, pp. 100—101.

¹³⁰ Syukri, pp. 103—110; Prawat, paras. 50—51; PMP, p. 16.

to deal with the constituent districts of Patani on an individual basis. The most serious subsequent troubles occurred only in 1901—2, mainly in response to a new, concerted effort on the part of the Thai Ministry of the Interior to gain full control over the administration and revenues of the districts of Patani. Resistance to the Thai government collapsed with the exile of the governor, Abdul Kader, to Phitsanulok in northern Thailand. From that point onward, Patani rapidly was integrated into the provincial administration of the kingdom, as Bangkok replaced the Malay governors of the seven districts with Thai when they died or retired.¹³¹ And scarcely the memory of Patani's past remains today.

¹³¹ Prawat, paras. 57—61.

CHAPTER II

THE HIKAYAT PATANI AND RELATED TEXTS

THE HIKAYAT PATANI SINCE 1838

In the West the Hikayat Patani has been known to exist ever since 1838. In that year Lieutenant Newbold published a "Note on Malayan MSS. and Books presented to the Society" in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. VII. "The Society" was evidently the Royal Asiatic Society, and more specifically its Madras Branch, and the list of Malay manuscripts included ten items, some of them consisting of several parts. As No. 6 Newbold mentions the "Hikayet Patani", and goes on to say:¹ "This is a history of the Malayan principality of Patani, now a province of Siam". He then summarizes briefly what the text has to say about the founder of the state of Patani and his descendants, giving the names of the sultans of the first dynasty mentioned in the text, followed by the so-called Kalantan dynasty, which came to an end with the rule of "Alung Yunus". After his death Patani fell into a state of anarchy and has never had a Raja or Bendahara since. "With a brief account of an invasion from Siam, and some curious instructions touching the *Noubet* and the twenty-four *Ragams* or musical modes, the work closes." Newbold's survey of this manuscript ends with a "tolerably literal translation" of the beginning of the MS., namely the description of the foundation of the city of Patani, and he concludes with the observation that this story of the foundation of Patani differs from that of the *Sejarah Melayu*.

The next year, in 1839, Newbold published his well known *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, viz. Pinang, Malacca and Singapore; with a history of the Malayan States on the Peninsula of Malacca*. In the second volume of this work he gives a detailed account of the Malay States, including Patani to which Chapter VII is devoted. He repeats the information taken from the "MS. history of Patani, in the Malayan language, in my

¹ Newbold, 1838, pp. 85—87.

possession".² He adds: "The Malay historian affords no dates to guide his readers as to the chronological order of the events he relates." Newbold then furnishes some information from European sources with regard to the history of Patani and adds some details concerning contemporary Patani, after the final conquest by the Siamese in 1832.

What has happened to this manuscript is a question that has never been cleared up. It is certainly not due to lack of interest in the history of Patani that it has remained unstudied all this time. Patani is an interesting place both from the viewpoint of earlier and of more recent history: as was mentioned above, the town played an important role as an international emporium during the 16th and 17th centuries, while its geographical situation between the Malay (later British) and Siamese spheres of influence and its position as a Malay Muslim state within the kingdom of Siam (Thailand) have also given it special interest. As Newbold's brief summary of the contents of the Hikayat could hardly satisfy the historian's curiosity it is only natural that subsequent generations of scholars have long tried to locate this manuscript. But their efforts have been in vain, Newbold's manuscript so far having proved to be irretrievably lost,³ while for a very long time no other manuscript of the same text turned up. In fact, Thomas M. Fraser, who did field-work in the Patani area in 1956, the results of which were published in 1960, reported that his informant Haji Wan Yussof told him that the only copy of the history of Patani which he knew of "had been recently destroyed by fire".⁴ Fraser gave a summary of the history of Patani, mainly following a narration by his informant, who apparently based his story on the text as he remembered it.

However, in that same year, 1960, or shortly after, we again hear of a text which may be the selfsame Hikayat Patani. In 1962 or a little earlier a book by Ibrahim Syukri called *Sejarah Kerajaan Malayu Patani* (The History of the Malay Kingdom of Patani) was published in Pasir Putih, in Kalantan. In the Introduction to this book the author states that writing the history of Patani turned out to be a laborious and difficult task, and although it is true that there exist a number of stories of Patani written by old people in Patani, most of these turned out to be *cerita dongeng* (fables) without historical authenticity. Moreover, the people of Patani are very secretive about their manuscripts. But the author nonetheless succeeded in collecting several texts of varying im-

² Newbold, 1839, II, pp. 68—69.

³ Wyatt, 1967, p. 16.

⁴ Fraser, 1960, p. 20.

portance for his research. He then goes on to say: "Maka diantaranya penulis telah dapati adalah sebuah naskhah tulisan tangan yang lebih hampir dengan kebenaran dan boleh dibuat panduan dalam usaha menyusun buku ini". (Now the author discovered that amongst these there was a manuscript which is closer to the truth and which can be used as a basis in the work of compiling this book.) The author explains that he has made grateful use of this manuscript, has checked other information, both written and unwritten, against it and on this basis compiled his present work.⁵ Below we shall try to establish whether Syukri really had at his disposal a version of the same Hikayat Patani which was known to and used by Newbold.

A few years later new evidence of the existence of the, or of a, Hikayat Patani came to light. In August of 1966 D. K. Wyatt mentioned to Nai Kachorn Sukhabanij in Bangkok that he was considering taken up anew the search for the lost text. Nai Kachorn, who was on an official tour of South Thailand, promised Wyatt to make enquiries, and during that tour found a typescript of a Thai history of Patani in the possession of a retired Thai government official in Songkhla. Wyatt thereupon visited this gentleman who allowed him to photograph the typescript, which consists of sixteen foolscap pages the last of which bears the date November, B.E. 2471 (1928). It was suggested to Wyatt that the text originally came from a Muslim court and that the Thai translation was compiled for King Rama VII, who visited Patani in 1928.⁶

This history can be divided into three distinct parts. The first part, paragraphs 1—43, relates the history of Patani up to the death of Sultan Long Yunus in 1729 and the Thai invasions in the 1770s. The second part, paragraphs 44—57, begins a connected narrative of a Thai invasion in 1785, and continues through to the re-organization of the province in 1901; while the third part, paragraphs 58—61, consists of a series of disconnected episodes added to the end of the narrative to draw the history out to the time of composition in 1928.

Only the first part is relevant for the present book, as it is definitely a translation and/or abridgement of a Malay manuscript, and is most definitely Patani-centric. This first part has been translated into English.⁷ It was obvious from the beginning that it was very close to Newbold's version, in fact, close enough to be called a Hikayat Patani, even though

⁵ Syukri, *Pendahuluan*.

⁶ Wyatt, 1967, pp. 16—17.

⁷ Wyatt, 1967.

the exact relationship between the Thai and the Malay texts was difficult to establish due to the summary nature of Newbold's résumé.

THE TWO MALAY MANUSCRIPTS

Meanwhile, two Malay manuscripts which apparently contain the long lost text have at last appeared, one in Washington D.C. and one in Oxford. The following may serve as a short account of the discovery of these manuscripts and of their nature and relationships.

During a short trip to Washington D.C. in August, 1967, A. Teeuw visited the Library of Congress and discovered among a collection of contemporary Indonesian newspapers two shelvesful of old Malay material, mostly old texts printed in Singapore in the first part of the nineteenth century, but also at least eight Malay manuscripts, most if not all of them written by none other than Abdullah Abdulkadir, the famous Munsyi (language teacher) and collaborator of Raffles and other British scholars of Malay in the early part of last century.⁸

The identification of these manuscripts was not particularly difficult, as they all bore a neat label on the inside of their cover, stating the name of the text and sometimes a few other particulars as well. One of these labels read: "History of Patáni, a kingdom on the east coast of the Peninsula of Malacca, near the Siamese boundary. — Copied by Abdullah ben Abdulkadir, a learned and accurate native of Malacca, at Singapore, 1839".

The question which immediately arises is whether indeed this is Newbold's own manuscript. The date precludes this possibility, however, as Newbold's manuscript was already in his possession early in 1838, according to the paper published in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*. The manuscript itself contains a colophon which confirms the information given on the label, and gives an interesting piece of additional information. In translation it runs as follows:

Here ends the text. The copying of the book of the laws of Patani was completed in the town of Singapore on the ninth day of the month Sya'ban of the year 1255, i.e. on the sixteenth of October of the year A.D. 1839. This is the end. The owner of the manuscript is Mr. North.⁹

This Mr. North is known from other sources as well. He was an American missionary with the American Board of Commissioners of

⁸ Teeuw, 1967, pp. 517—520.

⁹ Malay text below, p. 94.

Foreign Missions of which Singapore became a post in 1834, its agents in the following years being Tracy, Dickinson, Hope, Trevelli and North, the three former working in the Chinese language and the two latter in Malay. North was a skilled printer, and had a well equipped printing-press. He did not stay long in Singapore, his ultimate destination — as that of this colleagues — being China, and when China was opened up to American missionaries in 1839 the A.B.C.F.M. removed its men there. North seems to have left for Madura early in 1844.¹⁰

There is more to be learnt about Mr. North and his relationship with Abdullah from the latter's well known autobiography, the Hikayat Abdullah, and other writings. In this Hikayat, Abdullah tells how he taught Mr. North Malay and how this gentleman displayed much zeal in the study of that language.¹¹ He considered Mr. North his best pupil in this period, as appears from a remark in the original manuscript of the Hikayat, which does not occur in the printed texts: "... Dr. North, an American, one who bathes to his heart's content in the sea of Malay language; for he is an especial disciple of mine, in whom I have the greatest trust in translating English into Malay according to the correct idiom." ¹² In the years around 1839 it was primarily for Mr. North that Abdullah was working. Though he taught other missionaries Malay, he did so "only on the instructions of Mr. North".¹³ He translated and wrote several books at his instigation, and apparently it was Mr. North who helped and inspired him in undertaking his autobiography as well, which he commenced in October, 1840, completing the first draft in 1843.¹⁴ It was also during this period of close coöperation with Mr. North that Abdullah made his voyage to Pahang, Trengganu and Kalantan. The story of this journey was written by Abdullah and published by Mr. North; in Abdullah's own words:

If anyone wishes to hear the story of my voyage, I have written an account of it from the time of my departure from Singapore up to the time of my safe return. It has been made into a book, printed by Mr. North with opposite pages in Arabic and romanized script. I have called the book "the Story of the Voyage of Abdullah".¹⁵

¹⁰ Hill, 1955, p. 29 and p. 327. The information on Mr. North given in *One Hundred Years of Singapore*, 1921, II, pp. 235—6, is different in detail, or at any rate confused.

¹¹ Hill, 1955, 252—3.

¹² Hill, 1955, p. 326; Thomson, 1874, p. 279.

¹³ Hill, 1955, p. 252.

¹⁴ I refer to the letter by Alfred North attached to the manuscript of the Hikayat in the Library of Congress, Teeuw, 1967, p. 520.

¹⁵ Hill, 1955, p. 253. See *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah*, 1960, p. 81.

This *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah* has become one of the classics of Malay literature.

It was apparently during this time that Abdullah also copied the manuscript of the *Hikayat Patani* for Mr. North. The question now arises as to where he obtained the original from which he copied his manuscript. One could think of the possibility of Mr. North's borrowing Newbold's manuscript and having it copied. This is impossible, however, if on the one hand Newbold had already presented his MS. to the Madras Society in January, 1838, and if on the other Abdullah is correct in stating that he finished copying his MS. in October, 1839.¹⁶ Another possibility is that Abdullah obtained a text of the *Hik. Patani* during his journey to Kalantan in 1837. This is all the more likely since we know that in Kalantan Abdullah obtained several Malay MSS. which he borrowed for copying in Singapore. In his "Voyage" he mentions that when making enquiries about a MS. of the *Hikayat Kemala Bahrain* with a Mr. Ha, he received a basketful of religious texts to look at. But among these papers there were also manuscripts of the *Hikayat Isma Dewa Pekerma Raja* and the *Kitab Khoja Maimun*. These texts Abdullah borrowed from Mr. Ha and took home to Singapore to copy.¹⁷

It is remarkable that the Washington collection should include copies by Abdullah of the two texts mentioned above as well as a copy of the *Hikayat Patani*. Should we infer from this fact that Abdullah obtained a MS. of the *Hik. Patani* together with the *Hikayat Isma Dewa Pekerma Raja* and the *Kitab Khoja Maimun*, and that he made copies of all three on behalf of Mr. North? An argument which supports this hypothesis is that Kalantan is the most likely place in the whole of Malaya in which a manuscript of the *Hik. Patani* might be found. On the other hand, in the Washington collection are also found copies of texts which are not likely to have come from Kalantan, e.g. the *Annals of the Kings of Johore*. So for the time being the question as to where the original of the *Hikayat Patani* which Abdullah copied came from must remain unanswered. Below a critical comparison will be made of the Newbold version and our text in order to establish as far as possible the relationship between the two versions.

¹⁶ Newbold apparently was in India during the period in question; he had been in Malaya earlier — where he arrived in about 1829, took part in the so-called Naning War (1831—32) and was put in charge of a military post at Kuala Linggi in 1833. See Hill, 1955, p. 319. For a Biographical Memoir of Capt. T. J. Newbold, adapted from the *Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce* of June 5th, 1850, see JSBRAS 19 (1887), pp. 143—149.

¹⁷ *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah*, 1960, p. 81.

How Mr. North's copy of the Hik. Patani came to be in the possession of the Library of Congress has not been investigated in detail. Most of the manuscripts rediscovered in 1967 bear the indication "Smithsonian Deposit" on their label; according to information kindly provided by Mr. P. W. Bishop, Chairman of the Department of Arts and Manufactures, Smithsonian Institution, the Institution transferred its library to the Library of Congress in 1866/67. The simplest conjecture is that after Mr. North's return to the U.S.A. in 1847 (and apparently before his death in 1869) his collection of Malaysiana, including both printed works and a number of manuscripts, was donated or sold to the Smithsonian Institution; apparently no-one ever studied these interesting materials either in the Smithsonian Institution or in the Library of Congress.

The other Malay MS. of the Hikayat Patani was also rediscovered largely by accident. In July 1969 A. Teeuw went through the materials and notes collected by the late H. W. Emanuels in connection with his plan to edit and publish the Malay Laws of Malacca, the Undang-undang Malaka. After the untimely death of Emanuels these materials had been put at Teeuw's disposal, but the latter had never found an opportunity to cast more than a superficial glance at them. When looking through some of the notes on Malay texts in English collections, Teeuw was struck by a short note regarding an item in the Skeat collection which is kept in the Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford. Emanuel's note identified no. 15 of this collection as "Historical Notes on the State of Patani".¹⁸ A letter was then written to Dr. Rodney Needham of the said Institute, who kindly made available the item in question, which turned out to be another MS. of the Hikayat Patani. This MS. bears the following title:

"Sk. Ms. 15 [16 crossed out and replaced by 15!]: Selasilah Negri Patani (Historical Notes About Patani)".

The title page bears a short note saying:

"*Note:* This copy was made for me by the owner, who could not contemplate parting with the ms." Signed: W. W. S.
C.U. Expn. 1899.

¹⁸ It is probable that Emanuels took this note from Voorhoeve's unpublished inventory of the Skeat collection, where it is mentioned as "15. Pencil copy of a Salasilah negeri Patani". However, neither Voorhoeve nor anyone else using his list apparently ever studied this text in sufficient detail to identify it as a copy of the Hikayat Patani.

The manuscript is a lined oblong notebook, format $21 \times 17\frac{1}{2}$ cm. It numbers 67 written pages, and has 17 lines per page. The handwriting, though in pencil, is clear and legible. It is obviously a copy made for Skeat from another manuscript during his stay in Patani in 1899.¹⁹ The MS. has no colophon, nor does the beginning give us any clue as to the origin or age of the text from which it was copied. On comparison with the Abdullah manuscript (A), this MS., which will from here on be referred to as B, turns out to cover only part of A. It ends at the end of part I, story 22, p. 74 of A, i.e. the end of the Inland dynasty. It does not contain what follows in A, except for some ten lines which in A occur on pp. 88—89, and which in B are to be found — in a somewhat different order — on p. 24 of our text, at the end of story 6.

On closer inspection the two MSS., in so far as they cover the same period, appear to be largely similar though not identical. The sequence of events is nearly always the same in both texts, and the wording too is often practically identical; but frequently there are minor differences in spelling, syntax and forms used, while sometimes one text is also more detailed or extensive than the other. Some of these differences seem to be accidental, and the result of careless copying, while others are obvious mistakes (haplographies are fairly frequent in both MSS.); in yet other, not infrequent cases, copyists have tried to improve or embellish the text they were copying. Especially in the case of B literary embellishments have often been added, e.g. in battle scenes, where descriptions such as those which occur in Malay hikayats are to be found. In general, B is somewhat more discursive and detailed, whereas A is more concise and matter-of-fact. As was said above, this is not an overall characteristic of the MSS. In some parts the MSS. are much closer to each other than in others, but wherever they tend to diverge it is usually — though not always! — B which is the more circumstantial, without, however, adding substantial information. In only relatively few cases is the difference more than a stylistic one and does one text give information which in the other is absent or essentially different.

A number of examples of typical differences between the MSS. may throw some light on their relationship; the reader is referred to the Notes to the Text for more complete and detailed information.²⁰

¹⁹ On this expedition see Skeat, 1953.

²⁰ References in this section are to page numbers of the Malay text and the numbers of notes in the Notes to the Text (Chapter IV).

a. *Errors*

(a) Either MS. sometimes has corrupt words where the other has preserved the correct reading. Corruptions in A are: 10.4 *tua* instead of *tengah*; 13.5 *hanyut* erroneously added; 21.6 *aku* instead of *engkau*; 21.10 *penguduh* instead of *pengudut*; 25.2 *kaki* instead of *kakap*; 25.5 *petang* instead of *siang*; 28.3 *hampir dapat* instead of *dapat hampir*; 34.4 *otoh* instead of *obat*; 37.2 *betina* corrupted into *baqina*; 43.4 *tabih* instead of *takih*; 48.3 and again 55—56 *tetak* corrupted; 58.2 erroneous addition of the name *Raja Bajau*; 58.5 *bungsu* corrupted into *yang tua*; 70.2 *sepiruk*.

Corruptions in B are: 4.3 *menjerat* corrupted several times; 4.6 and 15.5 *Kabutia* instead of *Ayutia*; 5.2 and 13.2 *pintu gajah* corrupted twice; 16.6 *besar* is lacking; 21.2 and elsewhere *nyawa* corrupted into *tawa*; 45.1 *terletak* instead of *bertelut*; 63.6 *hilir* instead of *mudik*.

In a few places both texts seem to have different corruptions: 15.4 A *t-m-b-n*, B *angin* (?); 24.3 A *di hulu di luar*, B *dihulu di luruk*; 61.3; 60.10 where both have *k-n-d-y* while probably *mandi* is the correct reading.

(b) Either MS. sometimes has gaps, missing words or lines often as a consequence of haplography, which can be filled in with the aid of the other MS. Such haplographies seem to be more frequent in A; obvious cases are: 8 <*hamba*>, 17 top, 53.3, 60.2, 62.8. In B one has to suspect omissions, e.g. on 25.3; 40.2; 47.1; 48.4; 62.3.

b. *Different readings*

In many cases A and B show slightly different readings where it is not possible to say which text is better. Such differences are of various kinds: sentences are differently constructed, word order may differ slightly, or near synonyms are used. A few examples will suffice here: B has *balai gading* in a number of cases where A has *balai rung* or *balai gendang*, e.g. 5.12, 42.1, 53.8; 13.6 A changes over to Nakhoda instead of Syaikh with reference to the Minangkabau merchant; 52.1 and elsewhere B has Tun Utama instead of A Tun Atma; 64.7 B Maharaja Selia, A M. Setia. In a number of cases B uses Malay words where A has a foreign word: 18 A *hora*, B *bomoh* (but 29.7 B uses *hora* too!), A has *tembera*, which is lacking in B; 21.1 A has *mahatliu*, B *mata² lain* (!); Javanese words found in section 7 which are lacking in B are *paséban*, *lawang sekéténg*, *rabi* (but 27.6 B has *mangan* whereas A uses ordinary *makan*!).

c. *Additions*

There are quite a few cases in which the text of one MS. is longer than that of the other, but where it is not necessary to assume a gap in the shorter version. In many of these cases it would seem that the longer version was at some stage expanded by a copyist. Such expansions are much more frequent in B than in A. Several types of expansion can be distinguished:

(a) B adds factual information: 14.4 B mentions the amount of copper used for casting the state cannon; B 14.8 mentions two mosques instead of one; B 28.8 adds a story about Bukit Gikir; B 49.3 adds information on the digging of the canal; B 73.5 gives a longer genealogy.

(b) B adds comments of a moralistic nature or expressions containing a personal judgment or evaluation on the part of the author-copyist: the use of nicknames composed of abusive words for the perfidious courtiers throughout stories 10 and 11; comments of B 37.7, 42.2, 65.5; 37.1 B calls Raja Bambang "dull-witted".

(c) B adds literary embellishments: 22.6 description of battle; 23 expanded discussion between the brothers Mudhaffar Syah and Manzur Syah; 49.5 vivid description of festivities in Patani after the digging of the canal; 54.4 the prosperity of Patani; 54.7 marching army described in some detail.

(d) In other cases B seems to explain, or at least make more explicit, certain stories, sentences, etc., which are briefer in A, sometimes cryptically brief: 5.4 B adds *pada pantai* (see comment); B 13.7 explanation why the drifting corpses are so embarrassing; B 40.1 adds some sort of excuse; B 58.2—3 looks like an explanation; the story of Raja Léla at the court of Johore is also more explicit in B (69.2, 70.1 and 4).

Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether A is brief because something has dropped out, or whether B or its original has elaborated a story, see, e.g., 49.1; 53.6.

There are a few cases where A has a longer and more explicit version: 40.3 has an extra sentence which may be either original or an interpolation; in 66.2—67.2 B has a much shorter text; here too it is difficult to decide which version is the more original.

In conclusion, a few cases should be mentioned in which the MSS. show remarkable differences without its being possible to decide with certainty which version is the more original. We refer to p. 51, where A has Marhum Tengah marry her niece Raja Kuning to the Siamese officer, whereas in B Paduka Syah Alam is responsible for the marriage.

A curious difference can be observed on p. 52, where A displays much subtlety in the use of different words to refer to the Sultan of Johore in his relationship with the Queen of Patani, whereas B is more straightforward.²¹

Finally, there is a most remarkable difference which should be briefly noted here; on p. 26, at the end of story 6, B has a passage of some 8 lines which does not occur in A in the same place. The passage in question gives information on the *nobat* (the royal orchestra) and the *perkakas kerajaan* (royal insignia) during the reign of Mudhaffar Syah. What are actually roughly similar lines, though they come in a somewhat different order, occur in an altogether different place in A, i.e. at the beginning of what we have called part VI, pp. 88—89.²² We shall deal with this difference in some detail below (Chapter III). In any case it does not provide us with any conclusive argument with regard to the text-historical relationship between A and B.

The above examples will suffice to show that it is impossible to say which MS. is the better one. Either sometimes has errors or omissions where the other seems to have preserved the correct text. What is certain, though, is that both MSS. ultimately go back to one and the same original version of this text. In a number of respects A seems to have remained closer to this original, e.g. in some Thai words which it has preserved and in the Javanisms in story 7 about the Palembang attack, whereas in general the author of B or its model has tried to replace foreign words with Malay ones, to embellish the text by means of literary clichés, to elaborate the style, and to add explanations and comments of his own. On the other hand, from the viewpoint of classical Malay as represented by, e.g., the *Sejarah Melayu*, the author of B does not seem to have had a very good grasp of the grammar; especially his frequent use of (passive) *di-* forms, where classical Malay would require a nasalized form with the prefix *me-*, and his strange use of Malay prepositions are remarkable. In this respect A is definitely a better Malay text, though by no means flawless. It should also be taken into account that A is 60 years older than B, so that on purely statistical grounds the chances are high that A has preserved a more original text than B.

In view of the above facts we have decided to take A as basis for the present edition of the Hikayat Patani. In all cases where the published text is not identical with A we have given the readings of A in the Notes to the Text — or where possible by inserting brackets in the text, square

²¹ See Chapter VI, section 16—20.

²² See Notes to the Text, pp. 88—89.

brackets indicating words which, though occurring in A, should be deleted, and round brackets indicating additions to the text as found in A — such additions are mostly taken from B, unless otherwise indicated. Very minor and obvious errors in A have been tacitly emended. On the other hand, not all variants in B have been recorded in the Notes. In all cases where the differences are more than stylistic variants they have been recorded fully; of the stylistic variants, embellishments, etc., only a selection has been printed in the Notes, in order to enable the reader to obtain some idea of how the MSS. are related. Although this procedure may seem rather unsatisfactory, the alternative of publishing the complete text of both MSS. seemed hardly a better one, as the differences are really too small to warrant such a double text. However, in all cases where the text seemed doubtful or difficult to interpret, we have given whatever variants B showed. We have translated all variants into English in the footnotes to the text, except where the translation of the variant was not significantly different from the translation of A.

THE MALAY HIKAYAT PATANI COMPARED WITH OTHER TEXTS

a. *Newbold's text*

It has been pointed out above that chronologically it is impossible or at least highly improbable that Abdullah should have had Newbold's MS. at his disposal when copying the text, or similarly that the man who copied a MS. for Skeat should have had access to the Newbold MS. It is useful to investigate whether internal evidence can shed any light on the relationship of the three versions. Meanwhile, it should be kept in mind that Newbold's summary is so succinct that a detailed comparison is not possible. It can nevertheless be proved that Newbold's MS. must have been very close to Abdullah's text. This appears from the following facts:

(a) The beginning and end of the Abdullah and Newbold versions are, if not identical, at least very similar. Both begin with the same story of the foundation of Patani and both manuscripts end with what Newbold calls "some curious instructions touching the Noubet and the twenty-four *Ragams* or musical modes". This is all the more remarkable since, as will be demonstrated below, this end can hardly be considered to form the original ending of the text. It seems to be an appendix, and the fact that it is contained in both MSS. proves that they are closely related. The Skeat MS., on the other hand, lacks this final part and in this respect therefore represents a different version.

(b) The translation of the initial story of the Hikayat with which Newbold has provided us enables us to compare in some detail this fragment of the three MSS.; again it is clear that where these fragments are concerned the MSS. are very similar. In fact, Newbold's translation could equally well pass as a "tolerably literal translation" of this episode in our manuscripts. Only the end of Newbold's story is somewhat briefer than that of our Malay text, but here the translator may have consciously abridged his text so that this difference need not go back to a difference between the Malay texts. Allowing for a few misprints and misreadings in Newbold's text, the names are also identical. There is one interesting point to make, however: whereas A has the fisherman tell a story about the grandfather of the king going to build a new town of Ayutia, Newbold speaks of his founding the "country of Kakayutia". This error is quite easy to explain, as in Malay writing the duplication of *ka* is common in such cases: *ke Ayutia* has become *ke Kayutia*. The curious thing about this error is that the double *k* has been reproduced both in MS. B and in the Thai translation, both of which contain a further mistake in that they have *b* instead of *y* (a difference of one dot in Malay script!), so that they read *Kakabutiya*. All this points to some similarity between A and the Newbold MS. on the one hand, and the version of B and the Thai text on the other, even though this point is such a minor one that no conclusion can be drawn from it.

(c) Upon checking Newbold's list of kings with the data contained in the Hikayat Patani as we have it in the Abdullah MS. they turn out to be virtually identical. What few minor differences we find must in fact be attributed to misreadings by Newbold or to misprints: instead of Raja Biru he has Rajah Iju, which is an erroneous repetition of the previous Rajah Ijo. The kings and queens who are omitted in the Thai text (see below) are all present in the Abdullah text — Newbold's Dawi Perachu apparently is our Raja Déwi, who as queen was called Peracau; and Paduka Syah Alam and Laksamana are also both mentioned in the Abdullah text, p. 76.

So all in all we can conclude that the MSS. of Newbold and Abdullah were not only copies of the same version of the text, but that they were also very close copies. In fact, in view of the rapid diversification which we usually observe in the manuscript transmission of Malay texts it is probable that they were extremely close to each other in the genealogy of manuscripts of the Hikayat Patani; and if it is true that neither can possibly have been copied from the other, the most probable relationship is that both were direct copies of one original text.

b. *The Thai translation*

It seems beyond doubt that the Thai translation was made direct from a Malay manuscript. The difficulty is, however, that we do not know how literal the translation is or to what extent the Thai translator allowed himself certain liberties with regard to his model. In other words, we find it impossible to decide whether differences between the Malay and the Thai text are attributable to differences between our MSS. and the Malay MS. from which the Thai author worked or to conscious or unconscious adaptation, errors, elaborations or abbreviations on the part of the Thai translator. However, even though this missing link makes it difficult to draw conclusions, a comparison of the three versions is useful; the very nature of the differences may give us some indications as to their explanation.

The first thing which becomes clear when we look at the three texts is that all three begin at exactly the same point, but that each has a different ending. B stops at the end of part I of A, i.e. of section 39 of T. T 40—43 contains information which roughly coincides with a number of paragraphs of parts II, IV and V of A but can certainly not be called an abridged translation of A. Parts III and VI of A are lacking in T.

In any case the parts of the two texts fit for comparison are A 1—78 and the whole of B of the Malay text, and T 1—42. We give below a summary of a detailed comparison of these two parts. For convenience sake we refer to the page numbers of the Abdullah MS., or, as the case may be, to the relevant footnotes in the Notes to the Text and to the paragraph numbers of the English translation of the Thai text.

In the first part of the texts A and T correspond closely, T 1—18 being a faithful, though in some respects abbreviated, rendering of A 1—16. The stories of the two royal voyages to Siam are considerably shorter in T 19—24 than we find them to be in A 16—26. Many characteristic details are omitted here, although in other parts of this fragment there is an almost literal correspondence between the two texts, e.g., T 21 and A 18b—19a. The same type of abbreviation, though of an even more drastic nature, is found in the story of Wan Muhammad's journey to Siam (T 28, cf. A 30—35). Between these we find in both texts the story of Palembang's attack on Patani, essentially similar in A 27—29 and T 25—26, but with T omitting a number of characteristic details, such as the partially Javanese dialogue at the court of Palembang. The genealogical details of T 27 are for the greater part similar to those of A 29, but then again interesting details from A with regard to the

young princes are not found in T. The facts relating to the royal succession in T 29 are again almost identical with those given in A 35—36. The two palace revolutions which are described in some detail in A 36—42 are greatly reduced in T 30—31, but then again the royal succession described in A 42 finds an exact parallel in T 32. On the other hand, the long story about the relationship between Patani and Sai in A 42—46 is contracted into one single line at the end of T 32. The sequel to the story of the murder of Raja Bima (A 46—48) is lacking in T. Then again we find a number of stories about the queens of Patani, their rule and their succession in A 49—51 which find a relatively close parallel in T 33—35a. The story of the marriage of Raja Kuning to Phaya Déca is told in both texts, though with some differences which may be significant. Then T dismisses in one line the marriage of Raja Kuning to the Sultan of Johore, whose visit to Patani, resulting in his marriage, is described in great detail in A 52—54. Whereas A 54—58 devotes a great deal of space to the expedition of the Siamese army against Patani, ending in its defeat, in T it is described in a paragraph of ten lines (T 36). Then, in a more or less similar description, both texts give some details on the reign of Raja Kuning (A 58, T 37a), although nothing is found in T of the long story of Patani's dealings with the princes of Johore (A 59—71). The subsequent court intrigue around Raja Kali occurs in both texts, though it is considerably shorter in T (A 71b—73, T 37b). The story of the death of the last ruler of the inland dynasty and the events which follow it seems to be basically the same in both texts (A 74, T 38—39). The information about the first three kings of the Kalantan dynasty is essentially the same in both texts (A 74—75, T 40), but A (end of 74—76) adds details about a few other kings who interrupted Baginda's reign which T passes over in silence. The information about Sultan Alung Yunus in the two texts has some close similarities, but also some interesting differences (T 41—42, A 77—78). As mentioned above, T 43, the story of the devastation of Patani by the Thai army, has no clear parallel in A, even though Datuk Pujut is mentioned repeatedly in the final part of A (A 76, 78, 86—87).

From the above comparison a few tentative conclusions concerning the relationship between A and T seem possible:

(a) Essentially the Malay Hikayat and the Thai version represent the same text. This is clear from the overall correspondence between the two texts as well as from a great many strikingly similar details and even from a few differences which can hardly be explained otherwise than as

errors or conscious adaptations on the part of the Thai translator (see below).

(b) The major differences which also occur between the two texts do not seem to be accidental; they are due to conscious adaptation and abbreviation by the author of T of a Malay text which was very close to the one at our disposal. The principles which guided him in the translation and adaptation of A seem to have been the following:

1. To translate as accurately and as completely as possible the information contained in the Malay text on the early history of Patani, on the genealogical particulars of the successive rulers of Patani and on their internal government and policy. The most remarkable gap in T in this respect is the absence of the three rulers who according to A interrupted the rule of Baginda (A 75—76). Were they absent in T's Malay model, is their story an interpolation in A, or had the translator reason to suppress these rulers?
2. To give only brief summaries of stories dealing with court intrigues in Patani, including the story of the Palembang attack.
3. To treat with the utmost reserve the relationship between Patani and Siam. Any details concerning the king of Siam, his officials or his army which might be considered unpleasant for the Siamese court have been suppressed, or at least weakened: the story of the failure of the Thai attack on Patani is given in only a very summary and neutral form. The story of Phaya Déca and Raja Kuning is also stripped of details which might be considered as putting Siam to shame — the mention of Phaya Déca in T 36, however, may be a remnant of the more humiliating story in A.
4. The relations between Patani and Sai, and between Patani and Johore are virtually ignored in T, or at any rate reduced to one line of matter-of-fact statements, whereas in the Malay text they take up considerable space and are related with great relish. Apparently the Thai translator did not think these stories fit for recording, either because he considered them irrelevant for Thai historiography or perhaps because he did not think it wise to recall periods in the history of Patani which were so intimately bound up with the Malay world.

Comparison on a number of details may be helpful in further elucidating the relationship between T and the Malay texts. First of all, a

large number of details suggest that T is closer to B than to A. The following points may be mentioned to illustrate this:

- 4.6 and 15.5 B and T 4 and 17 both wrongly have Kakabutia.
- 5.3 A clearly states which explanation of the name Patani is correct, whereas B and T mention the two alternatives without making a choice.
- 5.4 B has the words *pada pantai* added, which are reflected in T 6.
- 6.2 B adds *kembali* to the text of A, which accounts for T 7 (p. 21, 1.4) "returned".
- 8.3 B and T 9 have "daily", which is lacking in A (only T adds "of the Lord Buddha").
- 14.8 B and T 16 mention the building of two mosques, whereas A mentions only one.
- 15.2 B and T 16 have the full title Seri Raja Fakih, whereas A has simply Fakih.
- 17.4 A is ambiguous and could be translated in two different ways; B allows of only one translation, which is actually the one in T 20.
- 29.3 B and T 27 both lack the name of Bahdur Syah in the enumeration of Manzur Syah's children.
- 34.6 B lacks the words *hidup itu*, and T 28 seems to be based on a text lacking these words.
- 51. In the story of the marriage of Raja Kuning T 35 is a little closer to B than to A, as both texts seem to place the marriage after Paduka Syah Alam's accession to the throne; however, only T has Apya Déca die in Siam, which contradicts the following story in A and B.
- 74.3—10 B and T have in common the contraction into one of two names Paya Si Lin and Paya An Tiwa' through an apparent misunderstanding of the Malay text (see Chapter VI, Comments on section 22).

Over against all the above cases there is only one case in which T is closer to A than to B, i.e. p. 14 and T 15, where T gives the names of the state cannon in the same order as A, whereas B has a different order.

There are many cases in which A and B are much closer to one another than either of them is to T. These have hardly any value in proving the relationship between the three versions, as T in general is much shorter than both A and B.

It seems possible, on the strength of the above comparison, to state that the Thai translation was made from a Malay text which was much

closer to B than to A. In itself it would be quite conceivable that the Thai translation was made in 1928 from the same manuscript which was copied on behalf of Skeat in 1899. It would be natural for both Skeat and the Thai official to turn to one and the same local official for information on the history of Patani. The theory of T and B deriving from the same MS. leaves sections 40—43 of T unexplained, however. We would then have to assume that the copyist who worked for Skeat left out the latter part of his model, which was later on made use of by the Thai translator, or that the latter obtained his additional information from another source, e.g. short texts which had in one form or another also come to be appended to A. Another possibility is that the originals of T and B were not one and the same MS. but two closely related ones, one with (part of) the appendices from A, and one without. Until some other source comes to light we must leave this matter undecided.

After thus checking T against the variant readings of A and B there are very few differences left (at least with regard to 1—39) which would seem to require as explanation either a misunderstanding on the part of the Thai translator, or the use by him of a different version of the Malay text. These differences may be briefly mentioned here.

1. In T 7, the story of the illness of the first king of Patani, we read about the royal servants promulgating the royal proclamation. After seven days, it says, "Some people lost hope and returned by way of Kampong Pasè" (revised translation).²³ In the Malay text as we have it, there is no possible explanation for the Thai text saying that they "lost hope".
2. A difference between T 30 and A 37 may point to a corrupt reading in T's original. The Malay has Raja Bambang say quite clearly and logically when he finds Raja 'A'isyah taking the young king on her lap: "Put my brother down; do not keep him on your lap." The Thai translation says, rather oddly so: "You must hand over the rulership

²³ There are a few places where the English translation of the Thai text, as published in 1967, should be revised, also in the light of the Malay text, viz.:

T7 read "Some people lost hope and returned by way of Kampong Pasè".

T28 the last words of the Sultan should read: "When I see your face safely returned, I am as happy as if I am seeing my relative in the Siamese capital".

T31 the end should read: "Raja Bima hacked the Sultan to death, then at the same time Sèri Uma Palawan, who had witnessed the deed, hacked Raja Bima to death".

T32 read "there was only a daughter named Raja Ijau".

T33 1. 5, read "a canal to be cut from the north, boring through the mouth of the river".

to me and my brothers", although no brothers of Raja Bambang are mentioned. Apparently *saudaraku* in the Malay text has been taken to mean "my brothers" instead of referring to the king himself, and it seems as if "the rulership" comes from the Malay *perintah* in the next sentence, which is actually spoken by Raja 'A'isyah. The rest of this sentence is left out in T.

3. In T 39 there are apparently some differences between T and the Malay besides the one pointed out above. As this passage is difficult and probably corrupt in both A and B, it hardly admits of conclusions with regard to the relationship between the three texts. It is obvious, though, that there again T is closer to B than to A. For more details on this passage see below.

The above cases tend to confirm the conclusion reached earlier on the basis of a general comparison of the Malay texts and T, namely that the Thai translator must have worked from a Malay text which was largely similar to B, and that he has generally understood the Malay text quite well. Only very few differences can be found which can be proven to be due to his misunderstanding the Malay text. And in these cases the Malay text from which he worked may even have been itself corrupt. There are, however, also a number of details where the difference may be explained either by the fact that the Malay text on which T is based was different from A or by a conscious change in or addition to the Malay model. The most characteristic points are mentioned below:

1. A minor, quite logical addition to the Thai text is found in T 9, where the translator has the king swear "by this image of the Lord Buddha". The Malay author restricts himself to "by the idol(s) which I worship".
2. An addition which cannot possibly be explained from the Malay text is found in T 13: "Some say that they cut off their heads for burial, while others say that they were not cut but were buried lengthwise". This, however, looks very much like the interpolation of a Malay copyist, so that it may have been present in T's Malay original, thus constituting a difference between the two Malay texts.
3. The same explanation seems plausible for a minor addition in T 15, where the words "directly where the *surau* is today" find no parallel in A, whereas B has "in front of the main gate".
4. More complex is the question as to what may or may not have

happened at the end of T 20 and the beginning of T 21. T does not mention the gift of prisoners from Pegu and Lancang to Sultan Mudhaffar Syah; in the Malay text it is one of these Burmese prisoners who as an astrologer makes a prophecy to Manzur Syah about his prospective kingship three months *after* the king's return to Patani. In T this astrologer is not referred to as a Burmese, and he makes his prophecy *during* the king's three months' absence. Is this a deliberate change — was it not proper for the Thai writer to tell the story of these prisoners being presented to the king of Patani, either for political or other reasons? Or is T based on a different, and more original version of the Malay text? See also below, Chapter VI, p. 233.

5. A remarkable difference in both story 10 and 11 of the Malay text, as compared with T 30 and 31, is that in the Malay version the real culprit in both rebellions is not the half-brother of the king himself, but a treacherous courtier, Seri 'Amrat and Seri Amar Pahlawan, who incite Raja Bambang and Raja Bima respectively to insurrection. In the Thai text these courtiers kill the rebels after the murder of the Sultan, but there is no indication that they were themselves involved in the rebellion. Consistently with this T lacks the story of the killing of the second courtier on the orders of the queen, which the Malay text gives in some detail in section 13.
6. A minor detail occurs in T 30, where Raja Bambang and Seri Amar are said to be "walking past *the ruins*" of the *surau* at the *pintu gerbang*. A 37 and B mention no *ruins* but only the *langgar* (*surau*). Is this an anachronistic slip by the copyist of the Malay original of T?
7. In T 33 it is stated twice that the canal should be, and is "cut from the *north*". A does not have this specification, which is correct geographically, even though the addition "boring through the mouth of the river" is not quite clear.
8. In the story of Phaya Déca and Raja Kuning there are some obvious differences which should most probably be explained as conscious "corrections" by the Thai translator. In T 35 the text implies that Raja Kuning followed Phaya Déca to Siam, as after his death she is invited to return to Patani. From A it is fairly clear that Phaya Déca is dismissed without his wife being allowed to follow him. His death is not mentioned in A, and he is the man who because of a

personal grievance is said to take the initiative for the large-scale attack on Patani. T does not connect the story of the marriage of Phaya Déca with the expedition to Patani, although at the end of T 36 it adds that "it was said that . . . Phaya Décha was in command of the army" — which sounds like a remnant of the version in A; nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that Phaya Déca is not a name but a title, so that the two Phaya Déca of T may well be different men.

In any case, it is obvious that in this story the viewpoints of the Patani and the Thai historiographer diverged too widely to allow the Thai writer to restrict himself simply to translating; he had to edit the story in such a way as not to put the Siamese to shame more than was necessary. This does not exclude the possibility that this version of the story may be near the historical truth, however; the Malay story indeed smacks very much of the literary spices which Malay writers were fond of adding to stories about the relationship between Malay and other kings.

9. In T two dates occur in places where the Malay text lacks a date, the date in T 36 clearly being impossible; though it may have been present in the other Malay MS. it is just as likely that the author added it from another source. The date in T 42 may well be correct, but again it is not found in A — unless the mention on p. 76 of Friday, the tenth of Muharram, refers to the same event.
10. Again it is said in T 36 that during the Siamese attack "many of the people of the town fled to *tambon* (i.e. the district of) Luboh Mako"; this may refer to the same thing as the information in A 57 according to which the people of Ba Bekal trace their origin to those who during the Siamese attack fled inland from the *padang* and settled upstream. Mako and Bekal may represent the same word; Lubo(h) and Ba (or Bendang, as B reads) are further apart.
11. In the story of Raja Kali there are some minor differences which may not be significant: whereas T 37b says that Raja Kali did not intend to do any harm to the queen, A tells us that he "*hendak merogol Peracau*" — "desired to violate" her.
12. In the final part of T (40—42) some particulars are found which do not occur in A. We shall cite here only some of the more relevant points; most of these are discussed in more detail later on in view of their historical implications.
 - (a) T 40 states that the government of Siam appointed a son of

Raja Bako. A says that Raja Bakal himself became king and, quite understandably, does not mention his appointment by the Siamese government.

(b) T 40 states that Raja Mas Kalantan governed Patani *for a long time*. A does not confirm this.

(c) T 40 states that the next king, Raja Mas Chayam, ruled peacefully until his death. A 75—76 says that this king, Baginda, was deposed and only restored to the throne after three intervening kings had ruled the country for some time.

(d) In T 41 Sultan Alung Yunus is made a descendant of Alung Betung. No clear indication of the descent of this sultan is to be found in A.

The conclusion to be drawn from the above seems obvious: T 1—39 is partly a translation and partly an adaptation of a Malay text which was essentially identical with our text, and more specifically with version B. The principles which guided the author of T — consciously or unconsciously — in editing his Thai text have been set out above. The Thai text in section 40—43 cannot be as directly related to the Malay text as represented in A, even though by and large the historical facts covered by T are to be found in A as well. It is possible, though, that for this part the author of T had a different version of the Hikayat Patani, or an altogether different text, at his disposal.

c. *The book of Ibrahim Syukri*

In his book on the History of the Malay Kingdom of Patani Mr. Syukri gives a survey of the history of Patani from the early beginnings until the present day. For this survey he has made use of a large number of sources, both Western and Eastern and particularly Malay, as is stated explicitly in his foreword and as is also clear from the book itself. In some cases he quotes his sources literally, while in others references to other works are not so clearly indicated.

As was explained above, one of the sources which Mr. Syukri has made intensive use of in his book is a Malay history of Patani, a manuscript of which was made available to the author.²⁴ In fact, Syukri uses different names, viz. (Buku) Cetera Negeri Patani,²⁵ and Sejarah Patani,²⁶ referring to one or more Malay sources.

²⁴ See above, p. 26.

²⁵ Syukri, pp. 25, 26.

²⁶ Syukri, pp. 37, 55, 76.

It seems probable, however, that all these references are to one and the same text, namely the one which he mentions in his introduction as his *panduan* ("guide") in composing his book, and that this text was in fact a version of the Hikayat Patani which is published in the present book. There are, further, apart from the cases where Syukri refers explicitly to a Malay source, many pages in his book which are so close to our text that it is probable that Syukri must have had this particular hikayat at his disposal. This is all the more true as these stories or data are often not known from any other sources. A few examples of the close correspondence between them will be listed here. The story of the Islamization of Patani in S 30—34 is largely similar to story 2 of the HP. Mudhaffar Syah's first visit to Siam in S 38—39 is described in much the same terms as in story 4 of the HP. The dynastic facts about the inland dynasty throughout S are in the main identical with those found in the HP, including the rebellions of Raja Bambang and Raja Bima. The story on the waterworks in Patani as found in S 47 also occurs in HP story. The love-affair between the prince of Johore and Dang Sirat which is described in such detail in story 19 recurs in S with details which are remarkably similar.

However, there are also many important differences between HP and S. These differences are of various kinds, as listed below.

(a) HP has stories which are completely lacking in S, e.g., the Palembang attack on Patani (story 7), Wan Muhammad's mission to Siam (story 9), the relationship between Patani and Sai (story 12), Raja Léla's mission to Johore (story 20) and the rebellion of Raja Kali (story 21).

(b) The stories of S and HP are only partly similar, as, e.g., the story of the foundation of Patani (story 1) where S has used the Sejarah Melayu story as well and has divested the story of all legendary traits.

(c) The story of S is not only different, but also occurs in a different context; this is the case with story 3 about the cannon-founding which, as was already observed by Wyatt,²⁷ occurs at a much later stage in the sequence of events in S (S 63—66), and with a number of important differences, even though some particulars are so similar to H that S must have taken them from the Hikayat, or from a common source.

(d) S has many data which do not occur in the HP. He sometimes explicitly mentions other sources used by him, both Western ²⁸ and

²⁷ Wyatt, 1967, p. 21.

²⁸ Some Western sources quoted by Syukri are Pinto (p. 37), Mandelslohe (pp. 44—50), Peter Floris (pp. 54—58), Hamilton (pp. 75—77). Some of these

Malay texts such as the *Sejarah Melayu*.²⁹ In other cases it seems probable that S has added information from his own local knowledge of the Patani area, e.g. the details which he adds with regard to the waterworks (S 46—47 as compared with HP 49—50). In yet other cases it seems as though S has tried to rationalize the legendary aspects of the Malay text, e.g. parts of the story of the foundation of Patani. Finally, there is sometimes a political overtone in Syukri's text, extolling the Malays and deprecating the Siamese, which is completely lacking in the *Hikayat*. A good example is the story of Mudhaffar Syah's visit to Siam (HP story 4, S 38—39), and another that of the defeat of the Siamese army in its attacks on Patani (story 17, cf. S 68—71).

As has already been mentioned, it is obvious that Syukri had access to other information besides the Malay texts, which he has used extensively. He does not mention any Thai sources specifically, but it is certain that he had access to a Thai text dealing with the history of Patani as well; there is evidence of this in the story of the founding of the cannon³⁰ and the 1563 attack on Siam.³¹

It can therefore be said that Syukri wrote an interesting book on the history of Patani from the Malay-Patani point of view. It is not a particularly helpful book in editing and gaining an understanding of the *Hikayat Patani*, however. It rarely, if ever, quotes the HP as we have it, and wherever differences occur and whatever their nature, it is impossible to prove that they originate from a version of the HP used by Syukri which was different from our versions, nor is it possible to determine whether the version used by Syukri was closer to our version A or B. Syukri freely selected from his sources whatever he considered relevant for the history of Patani, adding his own interpretation, and even in the rare instances where he says or implies that he is quoting his source directly we have difficulty in tracing the quotation. It is even difficult to say whether Syukri's version of the *Hikayat Patani* went much beyond part I of our text. The kings of the Kalantan dynasty are discussed briefly in S 79—80, and in the main their names are identical

Syukri may have quoted from a secondary source. In the case of Hamilton the author mixes up data from James Low (*The Kedah Annals*) and our *Hikayat* with Hamilton. On p. 55, footnote 1, Syukri identifies Orangkaya Seri Nuna, who is mentioned by Floris, with O. Encik Yunus *seperti yang tersebut dalam Sejarah Patani*. This man does not occur in our text, however.

²⁹ Syukri, p. 26.

³⁰ Wyatt, 1967, footnotes nos. 21 and 27.

³¹ Wyatt, 1967, footnote no. 40.

with those given in the first half of part II of our text. But the facts found in the second half of part II, beginning with the deposal of Baginda (HP 75), are missing in S, which, on the other hand, has a long story about the final struggle of independent Patani against the Siamese, ending finally with the Malay defeat (S 81—91). Some of the names occurring in the remainder of part II and part V of the HP also occur in the subsequent story in S, but here the setting and the details are so different that it is highly doubtful whether S had our version of this part of the Hikayat at his disposal.

The above will suffice as a general evaluation of Syukri's book as a source for the study of our text. We have gratefully made use of his book as one of our sources for the general survey of the history of Patani in Chapter I, although we have hardly been able to use it in the edition of the Malay text. Furthermore, we have commented in some detail on the differences between the book of Syukri and our text in the discussion of the separate stories of our text in Chapter VI, wherever such comments seemed called for.

CHAPTER III

THE STRUCTURE OF THE MALAY TEXT ITS AUTHORS, DATE, LANGUAGE

THE BEGINNING AND THE END OF THE MSS.

It is apparent from what has been said so far that little can be concluded concerning the authorship, date, origin or textual history of the Hikayat Patani on the basis of external data and comparison with other books. It now remains for us to investigate to what extent internal evidence, i.e. data from the text as it has been handed down to us, can help us draw some conclusions in this respect.

The MSS. as such do not tell us a great deal. The text, or its first story, is announced as "a story which has been told by old people" (A), or as "the story of Patani as it is told by its owner" (B), both of which expressions are mere clichés, not containing any real information. They are frequently repeated in other parts of the text.

MS. B does not have a colophon of any kind, but ends abruptly at the end of part I according to our division of the text. The colophon of the Abdullah MS. contains one interesting piece of information apart from the *terminus ante quem* which is contained in the statement that it was completed in Singapore on 16th October, 1839, in that in the colophon the text is called a Kitab Undang-Undang Patani, that is, "Book of the Laws of Patani". It is obvious, however, that as a whole this text as contained in A cannot be termed a lawbook, even in the sense of the Malay word *undang-undang*.¹ This characterization only holds good for the final part of the MS., and more specifically from the last line of p. 88 up to the end. Pp. 1—88 are not a Kitab Undang-Undang at all, but should rather be called a Sejarah Patani (cf. Sejarah Melayu) or a Hikayat Patani (cf. the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai, Hikayat Banjar). As B itself uses the term Hikayat Patani we have preferred to use that name throughout the book (abbreviated as HP).

The discrepancy between the title of manuscript A and its main

¹ On Malay *undang-undang*, see, a.o., Winstedt, 1945, Emanuels, 1964, Hooker, 1968, and below, Chapter VI, section 29.

contents raises the question of the unity of the text. There seem to be good reasons for considering this text a composite whole rather than a homogeneous unity. The Undang-Undang fragment looks like an appendix which somehow got attached to A without having any strong internal relationship with the rest of the text. There is a curious complication in the problem of the relationship between the Hikayat Patani proper and the Undang-Undang Patani, however, in that a small part of what A has appended to it on pp. 88—94 (part VI), is in B interpolated in the Hikayat itself. At the end of story 6 (p. 26), B has eight lines which roughly correspond in content with what is found in A as the first paragraph of part VI. While referring the reader to the notes to the text and translation for a detailed comparison, we have to discuss here the implications for the structure of the text of the presence of this passage in B at this particular point. First of all it should be pointed out that this passage on the court traditions appears in quite an appropriate context in B. After giving the story of the death of Mudhaffar Syah in Ayudhya and his succession by Manzur Syah, B goes on to tell us something about the regalia and the royal orchestra during the reign of the deceased king.

Structurally this passage corresponds closely with the passage on court etiquette in the eleventh story of the *Sejarah Melayu*.² There, too, all kinds of rules concerning court etiquette and related matters are described in relation to the sultan of Malacca; apparently the author of the SM took advantage of this particular moment in his story about Malacca to insert this information, which he probably considered useful for his readers.

Actually, in the case of the Hikayat Patani it seems unlikely that this paragraph of B belonged to the original text. B introduces it with the word *ingat*, "attention!", as it does in other cases of interpolation, especially when it seems to give some special information to which it wants to call the reader's attention. It would therefore seem as though at one point some author or copyist (the distinction is sometimes irrelevant in Malay literature) saw fit to include some remarks on court adat in the text. There can be little doubt that this kind of information was available in written form; in spite of a number of differences both in the order and in details, the corresponding passages in A and B derive ultimately from the same source. The author of the text from which version A derives presented as an appendix to the Hikayat a much longer

² SM, 1952, pp. 83 ff. (Story 11.9 ff.); SM, 1938, pp. 84—88.

passage on adat, and especially on the royal orchestra and the melodies and techniques used in playing the instruments of that orchestra. This appendix is connected loosely to the main body of the Hikayat by the information (p. 89) that after the death of Mudhaffar Syah only half the instruments of the orchestra could be played through lack of competent players, many of whom had not returned from Ayudhya; it is uncertain, however, whether this link was made purposely by the editor who later added this part to the Hikayat, or whether he took this remark ready-made from his source.

It is difficult to determine when exactly these additions were made to the Malay text, or when they were originally written. Some remarks will be made in this connection below. It is interesting to note, however, that both Abdullah and the copyist of Newbold's MS. faithfully copied this piece of Patani Undang-Undang together with the Hikayat. Abdullah certainly must have been well aware of the fact that as a whole this text could not be called an *undang-undang*; but he may have felt the link between this kind of text and a Malay history to be quite natural and have found nothing wrong with copying the text as he found it — including the name at the end.

THE DIVISION INTO SIX PARTS

With regard to the rest of the Hikayat Patani, too, the question whether we really have here a homogeneous text must be raised. There are, in fact, strong reasons for doubting the unity of the Hikayat Patani as contained in MS. A. The text can be conveniently divided into six parts, and we have used this division throughout the present book:

- I. The history of Patani during the rule of the Inland Dynasty (pp. 1—74).
- II. The story of Patani during the rule of the Kalantan Dynasty, ending with the rule of Alung Yunus (pp. 74—78).
- III. A summary of the Bendaharas of Patani (pp. 78—80).
- IV. The story of the elephant doctor Cau Hang and his progeny, including the Bendahara Datuk Cerak Kin (pp. 80—83).
- V. The story of the death of Datuk Sai and the struggle between the pretenders to the position of bendahara during the reign of the Kalantan Dynasty (pp. 83—88).
- VI. The Undang-Undang Patani (pp. 88—94).

When studying the relationship between the different parts the first

thing which strikes us is that B ends at the end of part I. This is not in itself proof that originally the HP ended at that point. The man who copied MS. B on behalf of Skeat, or any of his predecessors, might have broken off a text at a certain point for any number of reasons, and this was certainly a most convenient point. On the other hand, if other facts should tend to suggest that what follows after part I did not originally belong to the same text as part I, then B's leaving off at that particular point would be an additional argument.

In fact, a number of arguments can be adduced to support the theory that originally the Hikayat Patani consisted only of our part I. For one thing, there is not a very clear link between the end of part I and the beginning of part II. Part I tells us that after her death Raja Kuning was called Marhum Besar. Then it says that after her death the ministers of Patani met to discuss her succession, as this event brought to an end the dynasty which came from the interior. Details on its origin are provided in retrospect, as it were. Then the text seems to start anew, telling us that Raja Bakal was installed, but omitting to say whether this was the result of the consultations between the ministers.

Much more important than this minor point of the somewhat loose connection between parts I and II, however, is the difference in style and character between these two parts. Part I can be characterized briefly as the anecdotal story of Patani; it contains historical facts, names and events, many of them historically reliable at that, but these occur so to speak between the anecdotes or stories. The full emphasis falls on these stories, which tend to demonstrate the greatness of Patani, the superiority of its kings, man's moral and intellectual shortcomings and the limitations of human power. It is a highly stylized and formalized text, leaving out lots of facts, people and events in order to drive home, by means of carefully selected and subtly told stories, the points which the author considers relevant. It is literature in that sense — it consists of fiction as much as history. In contrast with this — though perhaps not a conscious contrast — part II abounds with facts and names, which certainly make the reader a better informed, though hardly a wiser man. The very mass of facts itself has the effect of confusing the reader rather than instructing him. No anecdotes or stories of the type which is so characteristic of and dominant in part I are to be found in part II. Only at one point does the author of part II give something over and above plain facts — the story about the realm and the death of Alung Yunus shows emotional involvement on his part, in what he says both about the sultan and about his elder brother Alung Tarab. This passage

betrays a close personal relationship between the author of part II and this sultan. However, it distinguishes the author of II from the author of I rather than linking the two together. It is indeed typical of the author of I that he is so detached and so seemingly uninvolved. It is this detachedness which makes part I such delightful reading for the Western reader, and it is a far cry from the emotional involvement displayed at the end of part II.

Now, one has to be careful with such stylistic criteria as a means for determining the authorship of a text. There may be other reasons why I and II are so different in style. The author of part II was obviously so close in time to the period with which he had to deal that he could not but relate the many facts as he had witnessed them or been told them by witnesses. Anecdotal stories such as those found in part I take time to grow and develop. In the case of the Kalantan dynasty the distance in time may simply have been too small to create literature out of history; at best emotional judgment could replace the detached anecdotes. In the Western world, too, we have historians who, although they are able to write past history in a most objective, detached and subtle way, get involved in the most subjective arguments and judgments immediately they start writing on contemporary history!

It is impossible, therefore, to determine with certainty on purely stylistic grounds whether parts I and II were written by the same author and at the same time. It seems safer, though, in view of the marked differences which exist between the two parts, to deal with them separately for the time being.

It should be added that even part I as such need not originally have been written as one piece of literature; earlier histories of Patani may have existed which later authors then used, revised and brought up-to-date. It would be impossible, however, to prove anything like a plural authorship for part I on the basis of the available manuscripts. On the contrary, as this text runs now it is so much a unity that we must assume that whatever the sources and materials available to its author, it was written as a unitary whole.

With regard to the historical relationship between parts II and III the following observations seem relevant. Part II ends with the death of Alung Yunus. After him Patani had no more kings, and as the text states, Patani has been in a state of lawlessness and confusion down to the present day, although no-one knows with certainty what Allah holds in store for the town. This sounds like the end of the story. This impression is strengthened by the following sentence about the *orang yang*

bertuah, which is totally out of place in this context, but which may have strayed in from some religious, moralistic text. It is not uncommon to find such disconnected sentences at the end of a text in Malay script, and its occurrence is an indication that at some stage the text under discussion ended with the preceding reference to Allah's unknown intention with regard to the future of Patani.

After this stray sentence, however, the text returns to Patani, and we are given a short, matter-of-fact enumeration of the successive bendaharas of Patani, specified according to the kings under whom they were in office. This enumeration covers part of the period dealt with in part I, and most, but not all of the period of part II. It starts with Bendahara Kayu Kelat, who after his abortive insurrection against Raja Hijau (Marhum Tambangan) (pp. 42—46) retired for good to Sai, and it ends with Datuk Tarab who is said to have been prime minister "until the present day; there have been no other prime ministers". In II too, Datuk Tarab is the last bendahara mentioned, but in III the last king is Baginda, whereas II deals with his successor Alung Yunus in some detail. So part II continues the history of Patani up to a later date than III (and V — see below). If our chronology of the Kalantan dynasty is correct, we may conclude that part III was written during the first reign of Baginda, i.e. between 1704 and 1707, or immediately after that.

After the mention of the last bendahara, III also adds a paragraph in which a pessimistic picture is given of the present state of Patani: ever since Marhum Teluk's rule, the text says, law and order have come to an end and officials have been acting according to their own wishes, and it is clear to the writer that the world "has reached a time of damnation" — a typical example of the Islamic cultural pessimism which is also well known from Indonesia.

This again sounds like the end of a story, both because of the mention of Datuk Tarab as the "bendahara down to the present day" and because of the moralistic, pessimistic final paragraph. However, the text as we find it in the Abdullah MS. does not end here. It begins anew with a story "as told by the old people" (p. 80). It opens with the elephant doctor Cau Hang who, during the reign of Marhum Bungsu, came to Patani, served the king and settled in Cerak Kin, which area he opened up. Apparently the real function of the story is to give background information about the bendahara Cerak Kin, the grandson of doctor Cau Hang. His rule is spoken of in laudatory terms on pp. 82—83. It is remarkable that this bendahara is not mentioned at all elsewhere in the text, either as one of the bendaharas in the enumeration of part III

or as one of the many officials who according to part V fought for the position of bendahara during the reign of Marhum Kalantan. He was apparently never considered a true bendahara of Patani by the official traditions as represented by the other parts of our text. He is not mentioned elsewhere either — with one, perhaps significant exception which will be discussed below.

It may be possible, however, to establish some kind of chronology for this bendahara on the basis of what our text itself says. According to the story of A, doctor Cau Hang came to Patani during the reign of Marhum Bungsu, i.e. Manzur Syah, who reigned from 1563—1572. He was by then a married man with children. Now the bendahara of Cerak Kin, with whom part IV deals later on, is a son of Cau Hang's daughter by his official wife. This daughter may have been born either before Cau Hang arrived in Patani, or in any case not much later, in view of the details given in the text. It is plausible that her son Alung An, the later bendahara Cerak Kin, was born, say, before 1610. So he may have been bendahara any time between 1640 and 1680, and perhaps earlier but certainly not much later.

So if the genealogy as given in the text is trustworthy — and in view of its detail and completeness it appears to be very reliable — we would then have to account for a 17th century bendahara of Cerak Kin, who was not the official bendahara of Patani, but who nevertheless had much power and influence; he seems to have acted as a more or less independent ruler, a non-Malay temporarily usurping the power in Patani most probably in the latter period of the rule of Raja Kuning (Marhum Besar). Even though he was not originally a Malay, it is remarkable that his main officers bear typically Muslim names.

This fragment dealing with the grandfather Cau Hang may in fact have been written by someone who was making an effort to legitimize his position, at the same time linking his story with well known traditions about elephant doctors in the southern part of Thailand (see below). Obviously the author of part IV was well acquainted with this bendahara, both in view of the fact that he was in a position to include his detailed genealogy and of the way in which he spoke of the rule of the bendahara: the story is an unrestrained eulogy of this ruler under whom Patani flourished and under whom its inhabitants were as happy as they had ever been. In fact, no Patani ruler is spoken of in such terms of praise in any part of our text. The ending of this part is also in absolute contradiction with the pessimistic ending of both parts II and III.

The abovementioned determination of an approximate date for the

rule of the bendahara Cerak Kin will remain a hypothesis as long as no outside information is available. The possible historical implications of this hypothesis are discussed elsewhere in this book. There is, however, one mention of this bendahara which seems to be in downright contradiction with our conjectures about him, namely the Thai rendering of the Malay text, where it says, after dealing with the rule of Alung Yunus (T 43): "When sultan Long Yunus died, Dato' Charakan (of unknown parentage) became ruler of the town. Not much later he died."

This would be a very brief rendering indeed of part IV of our text, but in itself it is not unusual for the Thai editor to omit fragments of the Malay text which he did not consider relevant for his purpose. In this particular case, however, several points are remarkable about this one single line in T: (a) it says that D. C. became ruler of the town (instead of bendahara, as the Malay text says); (b) it tells that he did not rule for long (the Malay text does not specify the duration of his bendaharaship); (c) it says that he is "of unknown parentage", whereas in A his parentage is much more elaborately related than even that of the Patani rulers themselves; (d) it mentions him as the successor of Alung Yunus, whereas in actual fact, according to the chronology worked out above, he cannot have been in office after 1680.

How do we explain these differences? It is possible that for this section the author of T based himself on different sources from the ones to which we have access, and particularly not on A. If so, we have to assume the side by side existence of two contradictory stories about Bendahara Carakan or Cerak Kin, as long as we have no other information to prove either wrong. It seems possible, though, that T was based on a text which was largely similar to A. Some of the differences between A and T might then perhaps be explained as follows. The Thai author may have skipped the seemingly irrelevant story about the elephant doctor (including the long genealogy), which to him as a Thai historian was familiar anyway in other contexts where it did seem to make sense (p. 279). By skipping such a superfluous genealogy he may have overlooked the information — which lies somewhat concealed — that Datuk Carakan was one of the grandchildren of the doctor. Turning again to his Malay model where it seemed to deal with the next ruler of Patani, at the beginning of section 27, he was unable to link him genealogically to the last mentioned ruler, and hence added "(of unknown parentage)", calling him ruler of the town, moreover, in view of the absence of any other person acting as such.

Again this is a hypothesis built on certain assumptions for which no

conclusive arguments can be adduced for the time being. But it seems to offer an explanation for at least three of the deviations of the Thai text from the Malay original. No explanation is possible for the fact that T says that this bendahara only ruled for a short time.

Not only is the story of the reign of Datuk Cerak Kin unconnected with what precedes it in the Malay text, but it has no clear links with what follows, either. For after relating that all the people of Patani used to pray for the well-being of Datuk Cerak Kin and his descendants, the text (p. 83 below) suddenly switches over to a short enumeration of the early bendaharas, giving their succession from Datuk Sakur onwards, i.e. from about 1630. Theoretically it is possible to assume that bendahara Cerak Kin preceded Datuk Sakur and ruled before 1630 (see above) but this assumption would hardly fit in with other information supplied by our text, nor would it explain the total lack of continuity in the text between parts IV and V. To some extent this beginning of part V is a repetition of part III, but it soon develops into quite a detailed story of Datuk Sai, his rivals, his death and his successors, about whom part II makes only a vague, general statement: "Many noblemen fought to become bendahara and there were many bendaharas". In fact, part V could be best characterized as an appendix, expanding on and explaining that particular sentence in part II. It tells the story of all these noblemen fighting to become bendahara, their rivalries and their alliances, both local and foreign. In some cases the names and details given in part V differ from those found in part II. One of the interesting differences lies in the way in which the kings of Patani are dealt with in these two parts, as in part V three kings are mentioned who do not occur in part II — Raja Mendelang, Aya Wang and Pera' Picai, i.e. all three doubtless Siamese supported or Siamese appointed rulers or governors — while king Baginda, who plays quite a prominent part in II is only mentioned in passing at the end of V. For these reasons it is obvious that part V is a different tradition from the one given in III or II, even though these traditions partly overlap and have a number of names and events in common. There is another reason for assuming that originally V did not belong to the same text and tradition as either I or II: its language is a poor kind of Malay compared to the reasonably correct classical Malay of the earlier part. This part V must have been composed by someone who did not write in the classical literary tradition: it represents rather some kind of spoken East Coast Malay, and may even have been written by a local Siamese (or Chinese?), or translated from either of these languages by a Malay whose grasp of the language was

not particularly good. With respect to language the position of parts III and IV is less clear, the language of these parts seeming at least a better Malay than that of part V, but in the case of part III this may be partly due to its simple, straightforward content; in IV there are obscurities of which it is not clear whether they are caused by faulty expression or by corruptions in the text.

Whatever the case, V must originally have had a different source from I, II, III, IV. A further complication is provided by the fact that it is not clear where the real ending of V is. Historically speaking the story of V seems to be rounded off at the end of the first paragraph on p. 87, where it is said that the present Datuk Bendahara Tarab was in office until the arrival of the Siamese, and that Baginda left for Tardih (or Teradih). This implies that V was written after 1707, and probably shortly afterwards, because neither the return of Baginda nor even the accession of a new king is mentioned. Now after the statement that Datuk Tarab was in office until the arrival of the Siamese, V returns to the story of Datuk Sai (p. 87), whose death was already mentioned on p. 84; on pp. 87—88 a much more detailed story of his death is told. The story is followed by a paragraph containing details about a number of other people mentioned earlier in the text, including Dang Jela and Dang Sirat from the story about the prince of Johore in part I — which may indicate that part V was in any case not added to the rest of the text by sheer accident, but that this was done with a purpose. It looks as though some footnotes have been attached to the main body of part V, and it is difficult to ascertain whether they were written by the same or by a different author. The language and composition of this final paragraph do not show any differences, and therefore pp. 87—88 have been included in V.

With regard to part VI, it is impossible to say anything about its author except that he must have been a man who was well versed in court adat, an expert on Malay music, especially as regards the playing of the royal orchestra. It seems a plausible assumption that this fragment was originally written when the heyday of Patani was not too long past, as it reflects clearly a glorious period in the court life and history of Patani. As Tan Sri Hj. Mubin Sheppard wrote in a personal letter in respect of the text of part VI,

One of the striking facts about this script is that the instruments in the Patani Nobat are far more numerous than in any of the Malay Nobats of the Peninsula ... Such a large orchestra is evidence of great affluence

and elaborate royal pageantry. It is reminiscent of the Emperor Akbar ...³

The author of the part of the text describing this orchestra cannot have been too remote in time from the actual existence of this orchestra, so we may perhaps assume that he committed these matters to writing during the reign of the last great queen Raja Kuning, or in any case in the 17th century. Such a long tradition and consequently such repeated copying would also account for the numerous mistakes which have crept into this part of the text. As no comparable Malay text to which part VI can be linked has so far been found to be in existence, it is difficult to say anything more specific about its position within the whole framework of Malay court traditions. It deserves special treatment by a musicologist who has specialized in Southeast Asian music.

As a summary of what has been said so far the following may be stated. Our text as preserved in the Abdullah MS. consists of a number of parts which represent partly different traditions, and which may have been written by different authors; clearly discernible as such different parts are I, II, IV, V and VI; with regard to the matter-of-fact enumeration in part III, specification is difficult. It is possible that one or more of the parts mentioned are themselves composed of different parts or were written partly on the basis of earlier versions; this is particularly true of parts I, II and V; however, the present version of the texts provides insufficient information for distinguishing such component elements. It is also possible, on the other hand, that two or more of the parts were welded together at an earlier stage in the textual history than the remainder of the text; III may have belonged to II as an appendix from the very beginning, or may have been added to parts I and II by the author who combined these two parts. I and II may even have been written by the same author, in spite of the apparent differences between them.

AUTHORS AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE VARIOUS PARTS

In any case, if the above is true in the main, it follows that in trying to collect data and establish facts about the author(s) we need to treat separately the parts thus distinguished in the text.

What, then, can be said about the author of part I? The following would seem relevant. He was a Malay from Patani, and as such he was

³ Letter from Tan Sri Hj. Mubin Sheppard to A. Teeuw, dated 25th March, 1969.

a Muslim. He was well versed in Malay literary tradition and historiography. He had an intimate knowledge of local facts, ways, traditions, etc. While he was not particularly hostile to the Siamese, he was, on the other hand, quite critical of the Malay rulers of Johore. It seems useful to go into each of these points at somewhat greater depth.

The statement that the author of part I of our text himself was a Malay from Patani hardly needs further comment. The author speaks of *Patani ini* (this Patani, where I live) (pp. 15, 42, and elsewhere), and in a number of cases he refers to local details, obviously from personal acquaintance: the *pangkalan* where the white mousedeer disappeared is located where "now" the Pintu Gajah is situated (p. 5); the grave of Tuk Panjang is known in Patani, and to the author, "to this day" (13); the author explains why Patani, apparently as he knows it, is "narrow on the eastern side" (p. 29); he speaks of all the people in Patani "who *now* trace their descent to Pahang people" — again apparently from personal acquaintance (p. 51); in the same way the author gives a story about the descent of the people of a village called Ba Bekal as this was still known in his own day by the people of Patani (57). These two stories also make it clear that there must have been a considerable distance in time between the rule of Marhum Pahang and the time when the Hikayat in its present form was actually written — there must be an interval of at least two or three generations, as otherwise these explanations would make no sense. The story of Raja Hujan, the grandson and only descendant of Raja Kali to escape the massacre (p. 73), is more complicated, particularly because of the difference between the two Malay versions. A suggests that Raja Abu and Alung Nam were contemporaries of the author of the text (*ini*, "the present R. A. and A. N."), and that they were grandchildren of Raja Hujan, by his son Raja Kecik. Now the rebellion of Raja Kali must have taken place after 1645, the year of the reconciliation between Patani and Johore which is described in the preceding story⁴ — "some time later", our text says, Raja Hujan was three years old, so that he must have been born in 1642 at the earliest, though it may have been considerably later. His son Raja Kecik cannot have been born earlier than about 1660, and his grandchildren in 1680 or later. They must have been adults when the original author of A wrote his story — i.e. any time after 1700.

However, this chronological picture, uncertain as it is, is completely

⁴ See above, Chapter I, p. 19 and below, Chapter VI, section 16—20.

destroyed by the reading of B. B gives a much more elaborate and specified genealogy of the descendants of Raja Hujan. It features Raja Abu as the greatgrandson of Raja Hujan, and Alung Nam again as the former's grandson. It adds another two generations after Alung Nam. Even if we consider these two last names to be an interpolation by some knowledgeable copyist, we still have difficulty with the fact that Alung Nam (the last name mentioned by A) comes, according to the reliable looking text of B, five rather than two generations after Raja Hujan, so that he must have been born at least a century after Raja Hujan, and if the writer of version A knew this man as an adult, our text could not possibly date back to before 1760.

It is difficult to determine how conclusive this argument is. It is remarkable that the two versions are not only different, but are also contradictory: whereas A calls the son of Raja Hujan Raja Kecik, that name does not occur in the list in B, unless the strange word k-c-a'-n (the name of the grandson in B), should be read as Kecik. And while A suggests that Raja Abu and Alung Nam are on the same genealogical level, B features the latter as the former's grandchild. A partial solution to our problem would be to consider Alung Nam of A as a different person from Alung Nam of B, the former then indeed being a brother of Raja Abu.⁵ In that case the author of the version from which A originated could still be a contemporary of Alung Yunus, whereas with regard to B we would have to assume that this part of the text was edited late in the 18th century by someone who possessed detailed knowledge of the descendants of Raja Hujan.

That the author of our text was a Muslim is actually implied by the fact that he was a Patani Malay. He is not a zealous apologist for Islam, nor is he very critical of the religion of the Thai. But from the way in which he deals with religious matters it is obvious that he knew Islam as an insider and that Buddhism was fundamentally a foreign religion to him. The story of the Islamization of Patani itself bears witness to his belief that Islam is the normal thing; and he censures the king for not really giving up his "heathen" way of life (*pekerjaan fakir*) (p. 11). While he shows the usual respect for religious leaders, *syaiikhs*, *hajis*, etc., he refrains from attacking other religions. Apparently in his day one had to take other religions for granted in a town like Patani with its important Siamese and Chinese groups.

As a writer, too, our author was a typical Malay. In the final chapter

⁵ In the family tree of the descendants of the elephant doctor there are also several cases of grandparents and grandchildren bearing the same name.

of the book a more general appreciation of this text as an example of Malay historiography will be given. Suffice it here to point out that this author follows the traditional style of Malay historiography without, however, referring to any other Malay text specifically. There are few traces left of what Ras has called the Malay myth of origin — the remarkable thing is that such traces are to be found at all (p. 74), apparently without much relevance to the remainder of the text. From what is known from Siamese sources it seems that perhaps one should speak of a Southeast Asian rather than a Malay myth, but in any case the few details which our text gives link it to Malay mythology in general rather than to specific historiographical texts. This book, too, contains the story of a Malay town which is centred on the kings and the court. The story of the foundation of the town and of the Islamization of its ruler is duly given at the beginning. It is followed by a number of stories, or anecdotes, carefully selected in order to present the reader with a consistent view of the glorious past of the town and its kings — or rather of the kings and their town; the stories are similar in character to those in other Malay historical texts, but are never identical with them. As was said above, we can prove no specific relationship to any other Malay text. In particular, no mention is made of the *Sejarah Melayu*, and Malacca plays no role in our text, whereas Pasai is still given its traditional honour of being the cradle of Islam in the Malay world.

The text is written in good, careful, classical Malay, with few deviations or localisms. There are a few Thai words — besides the large number of Thai titles — such as *sen*, which may be typical for Patani Malay. As a whole, however, the text is certainly not written in East Coast Malay but in Classical Malay, of which Johore was probably the main centre at the time (early 18th century). The Palembang episode gives the author an opportunity to show off his knowledge of Javanese elements in Palembang Malay.

The most remarkable thing about the author politically speaking is his positive appreciation of the Siamese. This becomes especially evident in the story of Mudhaffar Syah and his expeditions to Ayudhya. The first, friendly visit is described on pp. 15—17, and although it is obvious from this story that Mudhaffar Syah was not altogether happy about his reception and that he had some trouble getting away from Ayudhya again, it is hard to find a good reason in the story as it is told here for the military expedition against Ayudhya which Mudhaffar Syah begins to prepare immediately after his return (p. 19). And after Mudhaffar Syah's arrival in Ayudhya there seems to be less reason than ever for

him to attack the Siamese king: he is received with the utmost courtesy and respect: "He went freely in and out of audiences, without the Siamese king's fostering any evil intentions towards him" (p. 20). In this situation the attack of Mudhaffar Syah on the palace of Ayudhya can hardly be called anything but downright treason; even under such circumstances it is the Siamese king who remains friendly towards his Patani rival. It is interesting to compare the Malay text with Syukri's version of these events. Even though the latter is apparently based on our text, Syukri very explicitly tells us that Mudhaffar Syah was not at all properly received in Ayudhya during his first, friendly visit, and that he therefore resolved to take revenge when the opportunity presented itself during the war between the Burmese and the Siamese.

The second big clash between Patani and Siam is triggered off by the remarriage of Raja Kuning, the wife of the Siamese high official, Phaya Déca, during his absence, this time to the prince of Johore. It is obvious even from the Malay text that this was a political affair connected with the succession of Raja Biru (Marhum Tengah), who was well disposed towards the Siamese, by Raja Ungu (Paduka Syah 'Alam), who was anti-Siamese, as appears from her refusal to be called Peracau. The story of Phaya Déca's attack on Patani is an objective report without any disparaging remarks about the Siamese (in contrast with this the assistance of the Johore Malays during this battle is ridiculed).

From this positive to neutral, but never negative appreciation it seems clear that the author, even though he was a Malay Muslim from Patani and wrote this book as such, had his reasons for not antagonizing the Siamese. An obvious reason for this may have been the fact that when he wrote his book Patani was under Siamese occupation, or that for some reason or other the Malay ruler of Patani maintained friendly relations with Siam.

It is also obvious that our author had no such inhibitions with regard to the Malay rulers of Johore. On the contrary, he often indulges in a demonstration of the superiority of the Patani kings over their Johore colleagues. The Johore Malays are denounced and criticized implicitly, through all kinds of anecdotal stories, as well as explicitly (see the words of the Patani ministers on p. 53: "These people from Johore, whatever they do, it is always for their own importance"). This may point to a direct antagonism between Patani and Johore, although we need not necessarily draw such a conclusion. The author may also have been making use of a traditional antagonism between the two kingdoms in order to add spice to his story, even though in his time relations with

Johore may have been indifferent or even non-existent. The same holds good for the relations with Palembang and Aceh — it is certainly not actual problems with these two countries which inspired him to tell stories and describe incidents at the expense of these Sumatran kingdoms. It is remarkable that so very little is said of Patani's relations with other Malay states in the Peninsula; as was mentioned above, Malacca is scarcely referred to, while Pahang is only mentioned in connection with the marriage of Raja Ungu and her being summoned back to Patani by Raja Biru (pp. 50—51); apart from that there are no further references. About Kalantan nothing specific is said; Kedah is not mentioned, although there must have been frequent contacts between Patani and Kedah in those days. Trengganu is hardly mentioned at all.

Summarizing the above we can say that the author of part I must have lived and worked during a period when Patani was effectively and definitely under Siamese dominion. He carefully avoided anything in his book which might have been detrimental to his own or his country's friendly relations with the Thai court. He wrote his story some time after the death of Marhum Besar; if the story of part I as we have it in A represents the original text it can hardly have been committed to writing before 1720, but we must leave open the possibility that A itself represents an edited version of an earlier Hikayat Patani.

Part II must have been written by a man who had witnessed the death of Alung Yunus and felt much involved in it. He must have been an adult person in 1730, and may have written his story not much later than that year. It is possible, though not probable, that he was the same person as the author of I; he certainly wrote a story about the kings of the Kalantan dynasty which was very different from that about the Inland dynasty. The fragment is too short to allow of any conclusions as to his background, linguistic or other; his frequent references to the will of God predominating over the intentions of man suggest that he was a pious Muslim, as does his specific mention of the five religious leaders who attended so well to the needs of the people of Patani during the reign of Alung Yunus and his final paragraph on the adversity Patani suffered after the death of Alung Yunus. One tends to wonder whether this author may not have been very close in time to one of these religious leaders whom he knew so well.

With regard to the author of part III it has been pointed out that he probably wrote this short survey somewhere between 1704 and 1707, but certainly not much later, and that it is improbable that he was the same man as the author of part II; the matter-of-fact mention of Bendahara

Tarab in part III hardly fits in with the severe judgment on the same man — if he is the same! — which is expressed in part II, on the occasion of the death of Alung Yunus.

According to the above hypothesis the author of part IV must have been a man close in time to the bendahara Cerak Kin, and cannot therefore have written this story after 1700, as the latest possible date for bendahara Cerak Kin seems to be 1680.

The author of part V was a man who must have had first-hand information on all the events during the tumultuous reign of Marhum Kalantan; but he also provides us with clear proof that putting facts in a row is one thing, and writing history is another. The author, whose knowledge of written Malay was limited, seems to have been close to the Datuk Sai whose murder he witnessed; he most probably wrote his story — which looks like an annotation on part of part II — shortly after 1707, as no later events are mentioned in this passage.

Part VI, finally, was obviously written by an expert on court traditions and music, probably at a time when the glorious traditions of Patani's heyday were not too much a thing of the past, say before 1700.

Putting these factors together we get the following picture:

	<i>Time of writing</i>	<i>Argument</i>
Part I	first draft after 1690, in present form after 1720	death of Raja Kuning; genealogy of Raja Hujan
Part II	shortly after 1730	death of Alung Yunus
Part III	between 1704 and 1707	first reign of Baginda, Alung Tarab bendahara for first time
Part IV	before 1700	author contemporaneous with bendahara Cerak Kin, grandson of elephant doctor of Marhum Bungsu
Part V	shortly after 1707	Baginda in Teradih, Alung Tarab still bendahara
Part VI	late 17th century?	royal adat well known

This table suggests a fairly complicated textual history of the Hikayat Patani. The first form in which the HIP existed may have consisted of part I only. It may have been written not too long after the death of Raja Kuning (Marhum Besar, in the latter part of the 17th century). B still represents this original text, but in a later and edited form: the Raja Hujan genealogy brings it down to perhaps 1780 at the earliest;

the style was changed, additions were made, moralistic comments added, and a short paragraph on *adat raja* interpolated in an appropriate place.

A has preserved the text of the original HP in a less revised form; in the course of time, however, a number of appendices were added to it. The history of Patani proper was expanded with the survey of the Kalantan dynasty, up to and including Alung Yunus. This expanded history of Patani which may have included some editing (the Raja Hujan genealogy again!?) was probably finished not long after 1730. A later editor, when copying the text for some purpose or other, saw fit to add a number of further pieces to it, which somehow were available to him and all of which may have been written originally before or around 1707. Whether this editor had the four parts III, IV, V and VI at his disposal as one unitary text or as four different texts is impossible to ascertain; in any case he did not do any real editing: he did not smooth out inconsistencies, nor did he bother to avoid repetitions. In fact, he worked as a mere copyist and added to the Hikayat Patani one or more texts as he found them. No specification of the time at which he did this work is possible; it may have been any time between 1730 and 1830. It is obviously possible that more than one successive copyist, rather than a single one, were responsible for a gradual expansion of the text with III, IV, V and VI.

Needless to say the above attempt at reconstructing the textual history of the Hikayat Patani is largely hypothetical. Some of the assumptions on which it is built are open to doubt (the chronological framework!), whereas the argumentation, too, is in several places inconclusive. Nonetheless, in view of the many unsolved problems of the textual history of comparable Malay texts, it seemed worthwhile to deal with these problems of the Hikayat Patani in some detail.

CHAPTER IV
HIKAYAT PATANI

BAHAGIAN I

1.

1 Bismillāhi-rrahmāni-rrahīm.

Inilah suatu kisah yang diceterakan oleh orang tua-tua, asal raja yang berbuat negeri Patani Darussalam itu.¹

Adapun raja di Kota Maligai² itu namanya Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana.³ Maka Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana pun beranak seorang laki-laki, maka dinamai anakanda baginda itu Paya Tu Antara.⁴ Hatta berapa lamanya maka Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana pun matilah. Syahdan maka Paya Tu Antara⁵ pun kerajaanlah menggantikan ayahanda baginda itu. Ia menamai dirinya Paya Tu Naqpa.⁶

The manner in which the text has been edited on the basis of the two MSS. has been explained in Chapter II (pp. 35 f.). The arrangement of the following notes needs little comment. Names and other words the reading of which is uncertain have often been transliterated in the notes. The numbers of the notes always refer only to the words to which they have been added. However, if a number occurs twice, the variant mentioned in the relevant note refers to that part of the text beginning with the word bearing the first number and ending with that bearing the second number, for example, p. 4¹⁻²: where A has besarnya seperti kambing, B has besar kambing. For the transliteration of the melodies in part VI, see notes to the text, p. 89.6.

- 1¹ The beginning of B is slightly different and evidently not quite correct:
Bismillāhi-rrahmāni-rrahīm, wabihi nasta'ina bi-Llāhi al-a'lā. Ini hikayat Patani yang diceterakan oleh orang yang empunya cetera oleh (read: Adalah) seorang raja yang sangat besar kerajaan. ("in the name of God the All-Merciful; His help we invoke, of Allah the Most High. This is the story of Patani as it is told by the man who possesses it. There was a king whose realm was very great.")
Then follows what comes after Adapun in A: raja di kota M. ...
Concerning the introductory Arabic formula see Ras, 1968, pp. 612 f. We have not followed his emendation and translation, however.

² A m-a-l-k-y (passim), B m-a-l-y-g-y.

³ A p-y-a-t-w-k-r-w-b (passim), B has final -n instead of -b once.

⁴ A p-y-a-t-w-a-n-t-r, B p-y-a-t-w intira (vocalized).

⁵ A p-y-a-t-w-a-n-t-a-r-a, B ...n-t-r-a.

⁶ A p-y-a-t-w-n-q-p-a (passim), B p-y-a-t-w-n-q-p-a-n (passim).

- 2 Selama Paya Tu Naqpa kerajaan itu sentiasa ia pergi berburu. Pada suatu hari Paya Tu Naqpa pun duduk diatas takhta kerajaannya diadap oléh segala menteri pegawai hulubalang dan ra^cyat sekalian. Arakian maka titah baginda: "Aku dengar khabarnya perburuan sebelah tepi laut itu terlalu banyak konon."¹ Maka sembah segala menteri: "Daulat Tuanku, sungguhlah seperti titah Duli Yang Mahamulia itu, patik dengar pun demikian juga." Maka titah Paya Tu Naqpa: "Jikalau demikian kerahkanlah / segala ra^cyat kita. Esok hari kita hendak pergi berburu ke tepi laut itu." Maka sembah segala menteri hulubalangnya: "Daulat Tuanku, mana titah Duli Yang Mahamulia patik junjung."

Arakian setelah datanglah pada keésokan harinya, maka baginda pun berangkatlah dengan ¹ segala menteri hulubalangnya diiringkan oléh ra^cyat sekalian. Setelah sampai ¹ pada tempat berburu itu, maka sekalian ra^cyat pun berhentilah dan khémah pun didirikan oranglah. Maka baginda pun turunlah dari atas gajahnya semayam didalam khémah diadap oléh segala menteri hulubalang ra^cyat sekalian. Maka baginda pun menitahkan orang pergi melihat bekas rusa itu. Hatta setelah orang itu datang mengadap baginda maka sembahnya: "Daulat Tuanku, pada hutan sebelah tepi laut ini terlalu banyak bekasnya." Maka titah baginda: "Baiklah ésok pagi-pagi kita berburu."

Maka setelah keésokan harinya maka jaring dan jerat pun ditahan oranglah. Maka segala ra^cyat pun masuklah kedalam hutan itu mengalau-alau segala perburuan itu dari pagi-pagi hingga datang ngelincir ² matahari, seékor perburuan tiada diperoléh. Maka baginda pun amat hairanlah serta menitahkan menyuruh melepaskan anjing perburuan baginda sendiri itu. Maka anjing itu pun dilepaskan oranglah. Hatta ada sekira-kira dua [du] jam lamanya maka berbunyilah suara anjing itu menyalak.³ Maka baginda pun segera mendapatkan suara anjing itu. Setelah ⁴ baginda ⁵ datang kepada suatu sérokan tasik itu, maka ⁵ baginda pun bertemulah dengan segala orang yang menurut anjing itu. Maka titah baginda: "Apa yang disalak oléh anjing itu?" Maka sembah

- 4 / meréka sekalian itu: "Daulat Tuanku, patik mohonkan ampun dan karunia. Ada seékor pelanduk putih, besarnya ¹ seperti kambing,¹ warna

2 ¹ B gunanya; sungguhkah? ("... useful; is that true?").

3 ¹⁻¹ B dengan segala menteri hulubalang ra^cyat sekalian mengiringkan baginda itu. Antara berapa lamanya maka baginda pun sampailah.

² A ng-l-n-c-r, B menggelingir.

³ B menyalak terlalu garang.

⁴ B seketika.

⁵⁻⁵ Lacking in B.

4 ¹⁻¹ B besar kambing.

tubuhnya gilang gemilang. Itulah yang dihambat oléh anjing ini. Maka pelanduk itu pun lenyaplah ² pada pantai ini."

Setelah baginda menengar sembah orang itu, maka baginda pun berangkat berjalan kepada tempat itu. Maka baginda pun bertemu dengan sebuah rumah orang tua laki-bini duduk merawa dan menjerat.³ Maka titah baginda suruh bertanya kepada orang tua itu, dari mana datangnya maka ⁴ ia duduk kemari ini dan orang mana asalnya.⁴ Maka hamba raja itu pun menjunjungkan titah baginda kepada orang tua itu. Maka sembah orang tua itu: "Daulat Tuanku, adapun patik ⁵ ini hamba juga pada kebawah Duli Yang Mahamulia, karena asal patik ini duduk di Kota Maligai. Maka pada masa Paduka Nénda berangkat pergi berbuat negeri ke Ayutia,⁶ maka patik pun dikerah orang pergi mengiringkan Duli Paduka Nénda berangkat itu.⁷ Setelah Paduka Nénda sampai kepada tempat ini, maka patik pun kedatangan penyakit, maka patik pun ditinggalkan oranglah pada tempat ini." Maka titah baginda: "Apa nama engkau?" Maka sembah orang tua itu: "Nama patik Encik Tani." Setelah sudah baginda menengar sembah orang tua itu, maka baginda pun kembalilah pada khémahnya.

Dan pada malam itu baginda pun berbicara dengan segala menteri hulubalangnya hendak berbuat negeri pada tempat pelanduk putih itu. Setelah keésokan harinya maka segala menteri hulubalang pun menyuruh orang mudik ke Kota Maligai dan ke Lancang ⁸ mengerahkan segala rakyat hilir berbuat negeri itu. Setelah sudah segala menteri hulubalang diutahkan / oléh baginda masing-masing dengan ketumbukannya, maka baginda pun berangkat kembali ke Kota Maligai.

Hatta antara dua bulan lamanya, maka negeri itu pun sudahlah. Maka baginda pun pindah hilir duduk pada negeri yang diperbuat itu, dan negeri itu pun dinamakannya Patani Darussalam.¹ Arakian ² pangkalan yang ditempat pelanduk putih lenyap itu [dan pangkalannya itu] pada Pintu Gajah kehulu Jambatan Kedi, [itulah. Dan] pangkalan itulah tempat ² Encik Tani naik turun merawa dan menjerat itu. Syahdan

² B has lenyak, and in one instance léka, instead of lenyap on these pages.

³ B is corrupt here; instead of menjerat it has p-j-r-a-y-t orang. Further on in this passage it has menjerit orang instead of menjerat twice; is menjerat udang meant perhaps?

⁴⁻⁴ lacking in B.

⁵ B asal patik.

⁶ B ke Kabutia.

⁷ B ke Kabutia instead of itu.

⁸ A k-l-n-j-ng. B has k-l-c-ng and adds: dan ke Tambangan (see also l-n-c-ng, p. 18).

⁵ ¹ B adds: ertinya negeri yang sejahteranya ("which means, the peaceful country").

²⁻² B dan pangkalan tempat pelanduk putih lenyak (sic) ini paq gaja kehulu Jambatan Kedi itulah pangkalan tempat.

kebanyakan kata orang nama negeri itu mengikut nama orang yang merawa itulah. Bahwa³ sesungguhnya nama negeri itu mengikut sembah orang mengatakan pelanduk lenyap itu.⁴ Demikianlah hikayatnya.

2.

Hatta antara berapa tahun lamanya baginda diatas takhta kerajaan itu, maka baginda pun berputera tiga orang, dan yang tua laki-laki bernama Kerub Picai Paina⁵ dan yang tengah perempuan bernama Tunku Mahacai⁶ dan bungsu laki-laki bernama Mahacai Pailang.⁷

Hatta berapa lamanya maka Paya Tu Naqpa⁸ pun sakit merkah⁹ segala tubuhnya, dan beberapa segala hora¹⁰ dan tabib mengobati tiada juga sembuh. Maka baginda pun memberi titah kepada bendahara suruh memalu canang pada segala daerah negeri: barang siapa bercakap mengobati baginda, jikalau sembuh, raja ambikan menantu. Arakian¹¹ maka baginda pun sangat kesakitan duduk tiada ikrar.¹¹ Maka bendahara pun segera bermohon keluar duduk di balairung¹² menyuruhkan temenggung memalu canang, ikut seperti titah baginda itu. Arakian maka temenggung pun segera bermohon keluar menyuruhkan orangnya
6 memalu canang. Hatta¹³ maka canang / itu pun dipalu oranglah pada segenap daerah negeri itu,¹ tujuh hari lamanya, maka seorang pun tiada bercakap.

Maka orang yang memalu canang itu pun berjalan² lalu diluar kampung orang Pasai yang duduk di biara Kampung Pasai³ itu. Syahdan antara itu ada seorang Pasai bernama Syaikh Sa'id.⁴ Setelah dengarinya oleh Syaikh Sa'id seru orang yang memalu canang itu, maka

³ B adds before bahwa: Dan kata setengahnya yang mu'tamad ("And another, reliable explanation is the following").

⁴ B has instead of the two final words: putih itu lenyak (sic) pada pantailah tuanku.

⁵ A k-r-w-b p-y-c-y p-y-n-a, B lacks k-r-w-b, and has picai paina vocalized.

⁶ A t-n-k-w-m-h-a-j-y, B t-ng-k-w mahajana.

⁷ A m-h-a-j-y p-y-l-ng, B vocalizes mahacai pilang.

⁸ A n-p-q-a, B k-r-w-b n-q-p-a-n.

⁹ A m-r-k-a-h, B m-r-k-h².

¹⁰ A h-w-r-a, B has tabib dan bomoh instead of hora dan tabib.

¹¹⁻¹² B dari pada k-n-y-a-y-h (or: k-y-n-a-y-h) bersangatan sakitnya maka tiadalah boléh duduk seketika jua pun.

¹² B balai gading.

¹³⁻¹ (p. 6) B segenap teluk rantau bandaran negeri Patani ("in the whole area of Patani"). Hatta kira².

6 ² B berjalan kembali.

³ B lacks K.P.

⁴ A s-c-y-d (passim), B s-c-y-b (passim).

Syaikh Sa'id pun keluar berdiri di pintu kampungnya. Maka orang yang memalu canang itu pun lalulah hampir pintu Syaikh Sa'id itu. Maka kata Syaikh Sa'id: "Apa kerja tuan-tuan memalu canang ini?"⁵ Maka kata penghulu canang itu: "Tiadakah tuanhamba tahu akan raja didalam negeri ini sakit merkah segala tubuhnya? Beberapa segala⁶ hora dan tabib mengobati dia⁶ tiada juga mau sembuh; jangankan sembuh, makin sangat pula sakitnya. Dari karena itulah maka titah raja menyuruh memalu canang ini, maka barang siapa bercakap mengobati raja itu, jikalau sembuh penyakitnya, diambil raja akan menantu." Maka kata Syaikh Sa'id: "Kembalilah sembahkan kepada raja: yang jadi menantu raja itu hamba tiada mau, dan jikalau mau raja masuk agama Islam, hambalah cakap mengobati penyakit raja itu."

Setelah didengar oleh penghulu canang itu, maka ia pun segera kembali bersembahkan kepada temenggung seperti kata Syaikh Sa'id itu. Arakian maka temenggung pun dengan segeranya pergi ma'lumkan kepada bendahara seperti kata penghulu canang itu. Setelah bendahara menengar kata temenggung itu, maka bendahara pun masuk mengadap baginda menyembahkan seperti kata temenggung itu. Maka titah baginda: "Jikalau demikian, segeralah bendahara suruh panggil orang
7 / Pasai itu."

Arakian maka Syaikh Sa'id pun dipanggil oranglah. Hatta maka Syaikh Sa'id pun datanglah mengadap raja. Maka titah raja pada Syaikh Sa'id: "Sungguhkah¹ tuanhamba bercakap mengobati penyakit hamba ini?" Maka sembah Syaikh Sa'id: "Jikalau Tuanku masuk agama Islam, hambalah mengobat penyakit Duli Syah Alam itu." Maka titah raja: "Jikalau sembuh penyakit hamba ini, barang kata tuanhamba itu hamba turutlah."

Setelah sudah Syaikh Sa'id berjanji dengan raja itu, maka Syaikh Sa'id pun duduklah mengobat raja itu. Ada tujuh hari lamanya, maka raja pun dapatlah keluar diadap oleh menteri hulubalang sekalian. Arakian maka Syaikh Sa'id pun bermohonlah kepada baginda, lalu kembali kerumahnya. Antara berapa hari lamanya maka penyakit raja itu pun sembuhlah. Maka raja pun mungkirilah ia akan janjinya dengan Syaikh Sa'id itu.

Hatta ada dua tahun selangnya, maka raja pun sakit pula, seperti dahulu itu juga penyakitnya. Maka Syaikh Sa'id pun disuruh panggil

⁵ B adds Apakah susah pekerjaan didalam negeri, ("What is the trouble in this country?").

⁶⁻⁶ B tabib dan bomoh berobatan baginda itu.

7 ¹ A sungguhlah.

pula oléh raja. Telah Syaikh Sa'id datang, maka titah baginda: "Tuan obatlah penyakit hamba ini. Jikalau sembuh penyakit hamba sekali ini, bahwa barang kata tuanhamba itu tiadalah hamba lalu lagi." Maka kata Syaikh Sa'id: "Sungguh-sungguh janji Tuanku dengan patik, maka patik mau mengobati Duli Tuanku. Jikalau tiada sungguh seperti titah Duli Tuanku ini, tiadalah patik mau mengobati dia." Setelah didengar raja sembah Syaikh Sa'id itu demikian, maka raja pun berteguh-teguhan janjilah dengan Syaikh Sa'id. Arakian maka Syaikh Sa'id pun duduklah mengobati raja itu. Ada lima hari maka Syaikh Sa'id pun bermohonlah

8 pada raja kembali kerumahnya. Hatta / antara tengah bulan lamanya, maka penyakit raja itu pun sembuhlah. Syahdan raja pula¹ mungkir akan janjinya dengan Syaikh¹ Sa'id itu.

Hatta antara setahun lamanya maka raja itu pun sakit pula, terlebih² daripada sakit yang dahulu itu, dan duduk pun tiada dapat karar barang seketika.² Maka Syaikh Sa'id pun disuruh panggil oléh raja pula. Maka kata Syaikh Sa'id pada hamba raja itu: "Tuanhamba pergilah sembahkan kebawah Duli Raja, tiada hamba mau mengobati raja itu lagi, karena janji raja dengan hamba tiada sungguh." Hatta maka <hamba> raja itu pun kembalilah, maka segala kata Syaikh Sa'id itu semuanya dipersembahkannya kepada raja. Maka titah raja kepada bentara: "Pergilah engkau panggil orang Pasai itu; engkau katakan padanya: jikalau sembuh penyakitku sekali ini, tiadalah kuubahkan janjiku dengan dia itu. Demi berhala yang kusembah ini,³ jikalau aku mengubahkan janjiku ini, janganlah sembuh penyakitku ini selama-lamanya."

Arakian maka bentara pun pergilah menjunjungkan segala titah raja itu kepada Syaikh Sa'id. Maka⁴ kata Syaikh Sa'id: "Baiklah berhala tuan raja itulah akan syaksinya hamba; jikalau lain kalanya⁵ tiadalah hamba mau mengobati raja itu." ⁴ Hatta maka Syaikh Sa'id pun pergilah mengadap raja. Setelah Syaikh Sa'id datang, maka titah raja: "Tuan obatlah penyakit hamba sekali ini. Jikalau sembuh penyakit hamba ini, barang yang tuan kata itu bahwa sesungguhnya tiadalah hamba lalu lagi." Maka kata Syaikh Sa'id: "Baiklah, biarlah patik obat penyakit Duli Tuanku. Jikalau sudah sembuh Duli Tuanku tiada masuk agama

9 Islam sekali ini juga, jika datang penyakit Tuanku kemudian / harinya, jika Duli Tuanku bunuh patik sekalipun, ridhalah patik; akan mengobati

8 ¹⁻¹ B pun berkiralah pula dengan Syaikh.

²⁻² B tiadalah boléh duduk seketika jua pun makin bertambah-tambah sakitnya.

³ B sehari² itu.

⁴⁻⁴ lacking in B.

⁵ A k-l-a-nv.

penyakit Tuanku itu patik mohonlah.” Maka titah raja: “Baiklah, mana kata tuan itu hamba turutlah.” Setelah itu maka raja pun diobat pula oléh Syaikh Sa‘id itu. Hatta antara tiga hari lamanya maka Syaikh Sa‘id pun bermohon pada raja, kembali kerumahnya. Arakian antara dua puluh hari lamanya maka penyakit raja itu pun sembuhlah.

Sebermula ada sebulan selangnya, maka pada suatu hari raja semayam di balairung diadap oléh segala menteri hulubalang ¹ dan ra‘yat sekalian. Maka titah baginda: “Hai segala menteri hulubalangu, apa bicara kamu sekalian, karena aku hendak mengikut agama Islam?” Maka sembah sekalian meréka itu: “Daulat Tuanku, mana titah patik sekalian junjung, karena patik sekalian ini hamba pada kebawah Duli Yang Mahamulia.” Hatta setelah raja menengar sembah segala menteri hulubalangnya itu, maka baginda pun terlalulah sukacita, lalu berangkat masuk ke istana.

Setelah datanglah pada keésokan harinya, maka baginda pun menitahkan bentara kanan pergi memanggil Syaikh Sa‘id, serta bertitah pada bendahara suruh menghimpunkan segala menteri hulubalang dan ra‘yat sekalian. Maka baginda pun semayam di balairung diadap oléh ra‘yat sekalian. Pada tatkala itu Syaikh Sa‘id pun datanglah mengadap raja diiringkan oléh bentara. Setelah Syaikh Sa‘id itu datang maka raja pun sangatlah memuliakan Syaikh Sa‘id itu. Maka titah baginda: “Adapun hamba memanggil tuanhamba ini, karena janji hamba dengan tuanhamba ini hendak masuk agama Islam itulah.” Setelah Syaikh Sa‘id /
10 / menengar titah raja demikian itu, maka Syaikh Sa‘id pun segera mengucup tangan raja itu, lalu dijunjungnya. Sudah itu maka diajarkanlah kalimat ¹ syahadat ¹ oléh syaikh, demikian bunyinya: “Asyhadu an lâ ilâha illâ ‘Llâh waasyhadu anna Muḥammadan rasûlu’ Llâh.” ² Maka raja pun kararlah membawa agama Islam. Setelah sudah raja mengucap kalimat syahadat itu, maka Syaikh Sa‘id pun mengajarkan kalimat syahadat kepada segala menteri hulubalang dan ra‘yat yang ada hadir itu pula.

Telah selesailah Syaikh Sa‘id dari pada mengajarkan kalimat syahadat pada segala meréka itu, maka sembah Syaikh Sa‘id: “Ya Tuanku Syah ‘Alam, baiklah Tuanku bernama mengikut nama Islam, karena Tuanku sudah membawa agama Islam, supaya bertambah berkat Duli Tuanku

9 ¹ B adds sida² bentara to the list of dignitaries several times in this passage.

10 ¹⁻¹ B kalimatuttayyib (“word of excellence”).

² B adds: Allahumma sallâ ‘alâ Muḥammada (sic) serta dengan ma‘na keduanya (“together with their explanation”).

beroléh syafa^cat dari pada Nabi Muhammad rasul Allah, salla 'Llāhu
 'alaihi wasallama diakhirat jemah.” Maka titah baginda: “Jikalau
 demikian, tuanhambalah memberi nama akan hamba.” Arakian maka
 raja itu pun diberi nama oléh Syaikh Sa^cid Sultan Isma^cil Syah Zillullah
 Fil-^cAlam. Setelah sudah Syaikh Sa^cid memberi nama akan raja itu,
 maka titah baginda: “Anak hamba ketiga itu baiklah tuanhamba beri
 nama sekali, supaya sempurnalah hamba membawa agama Islam.”
 Maka sembah Syaikh Sa^cid: “Barang bertambah kiranya daulat sa^cadat
 Duli Yang Mahamulia, hingga datang kepada kesudahan zaman paduka
 anakanda dan cucunda Duli Yang Mahamulia³ karar sentosa diatas
 takhta kerajaan dinegeri Patani Darussalam.” Arakian maka Syaikh
 Sa^cid pun memberi nama akan paduka anakanda baginda yang tua itu
 Sultan Mudhaffar Syah dan yang tengah⁴ perempuan itu dinamainya
 11 Sitti / ^cA'isyah dan yang bungsu laki-laki dinamainya Sultan Manzur¹
 Syah. Setelah sudah Syaikh Sa^cid memberi nama akan anakanda baginda
 itu, maka baginda pun mengaruniai akan Syaikh Sa^cid itu terlalu banyak
 dari pada emas pérak dan kain yang indah-indah. Hatta maka Syaikh
 Sa^cid pun [pun] bermohonlah pada raja, lalu kembali ke rumahnya
 di biara Kampung Pasai.

Syahdan pada zaman itu segala ra^cyat yang didalam negeri juga yang
 membawa agama Islam, dan segala ra^cyat yang diluar da^cerah² negeri
 seorang pun² tiada masuk Islam. Adapun raja itu sungguhpun ia
 membawa agama Islam, yang menyembah berhala dan makan babi itu
 juga yang ditinggalkan; lain dari pada itu segala pekerjaan kafir itu
 suatu pun tiada diubahnya.

3.

Hatta antara berapa tahun lamanya maka datang sebuah wangkang³
 Cina, lain dari pada ^cadat purbakala persembahnya itu, ada sebuah⁴
 peluru batu,⁴ besarnya ada seperti bakul⁵ muat delapan gantang.
 Arakian telah nakhoda⁶ Cina itu bermohon turun ke perahunya, maka
 baginda pun bertitah kepada bendahara dan segala menteri hulubalang
 sekalian: “Apa bicara engkau sekalian, nakhoda Cina persembahkan
 peluru kepada kita ini?” Maka sembah segala menteri hulubalangnya:
 “Daulat Tuanaku, patik sekalian harapkan ampun beribu-ribu ampun

³ B adds: minta kekal.

⁴ A tua.

11 ¹ AB consistently spell this name Manzūr, see Chapter I, note 19.

²⁻² setengah.

³ B dagang.

⁶ B pikul yang.

⁴⁻⁴ B sebutir peluru bedil.

⁶ A n-kh-w-d-h (passim).

kebawah Duli Yang Mahamulia ini.”⁷ Maka titah baginda: “Pada hati kita akan nakhoda Cina itu seorang dagang, maka ia memberikan kita
 12 sebutir peluru yang besar ini; akan kita seorang raja sebuah / negeri tiada menaruh bedil yang dapat dibedilkan peluru¹ itu. Maka menjadi ‘aiblah kita pada segala negeri yang asing.” Maka sembah segala menterinya: “Sebenarnya seperti titah Duli Yang Mahamulia itu; karena patik sekalian ini hamba kebawah Duli Syah ‘Alam, mana titah patik sekalian junjung.” Hatta maka titah baginda: “Jika demikian temenggung canangkanlah: jangan siapa-siapa membawa keluar tembaga dalam negeri ini tiga tahun dan jangan dijual pada segala dagang; barang siapa melalui titah kita ini kita bunuh.” Maka baginda pun berangkat masuk kedalam istana. Maka segala menteri hulubalang pun menyembah lalu keluar pulang masing-masing <ke> rumahnya. Maka temenggung pun menyuruhkan orangnya memalu canang seperti titah raja itu.

Syahdan dalam tiga tahun itu datangnya sebuah selub dari Malaka berniaga membawa dagangan terlalu indah. Maka pada suatu hari ada seorang orang Minangkabau asalnya, duduk ia menjadi saudagar didalam negeri Patani bernama Syaikh Gombak,² maka ia pun menyuruhkan seorang muridnya yang bernama ‘Abdulmu’min itu pergi menawarkan tembaga kepada nakhoda selub itu. Maka nakhoda itu pun maulah ia membeli tembaga itu. Arakian maka Syaikh Gombak pun berjuallah tembaga itu, ada kadar empat pikul banyaknya sahaja. Maka pada suatu malam maka Syaikh Gombak pun menyuruhkan ‘Abdulmu’min mengantarkan tembaga turun keselub itu. Maka ‘Abdulmu’min pun bertemu dengan orang bandar memeriksa segala dagang itu, lalu ditangkapnya. Setelah hari siang maka ‘Abdulmu’min pun dibawa orang kepada laksamana. Arakian maka ‘Abdulmu’min pun diperiksa oleh laksamana: “Siapa empunya tembaga ini?” Maka di-
 13 persembahkanlah segala ahwalnya itu kepada / laksamana. Hatta maka laksamana pun masuk mengadap raja bersembahkan Syaikh Gombak menjual tembaga itu.¹ Maka titah baginda pada temenggung suruh bunuh Syaikh Gombak dua bermurid dengan ‘Abdulmu’min itu

⁷ B adds: maka tiadalah lulus budi ‘akal bicara patik sekalian akan titah Duli Tuanku ini (“but we just lack the insight to know what we should reply to Your words”).

12 ¹ B dengan peluru.

² A and B use k-m-b-q and g-m-b-q (passim), B vocalizes the name as Gambak in the first occurrence.

13 ¹ B adds: didalam pesimpan tuanku (instead of itu).

di² Pintu Gajah di kaki² Jambatan Kedi itu.³ Maka mayatnya pun dibuangkan pada sungai parit itulah. Dengan takdir Allah ta^cala⁴ diatas hambanya, maka mayat Syaikh Gombak itu pun terdiri hingga pinggangnya diatas air itu, dan mayat 'Abdulmu'min itu terdiri sehingga dadanya diatas air. Apabila air surut⁵ mayat kedua itu pun [hanyut] hilir, kedua beriring-iring seperti orang berjalan rupanya; apabila air pasang mayat kedua orang itu pun hanyut balik ke Jambatan pula, tiga hari lamanya yang demikian itu.⁵

Maka dipersembahkan orang kepada Tuk Besar. Arakian maka Tuk Besar pun masuk menghadap raja memohonkan mayat Nakhoda⁶ Gombak dengan mayat 'Abdulmu'min.⁷ Maka mayat itu pun dikaruniai baginda, maka mayat kedua itu pun disuruh oléh Tuk Besar bawa ke seberang. Setelah sampai ke pantai seberang itu, maka mayat Nakhoda Gombak dan 'Abdulmu'min itu pun ditarik orang naik hendak dikuburkan. Maka dengan takdir Allah ta^cala mayat Tuk Panjang⁸ dua bermurid dengan 'Abdulmu'min pun sekonyong-konyong memanjangkan dirinya dengan lembut,⁹ tiada pernah mayat orang yang demikian itu. Maka mayat kedua itu pun dikuburkan oranglah. Setelah sudah disebut orang kubur Tuk Panjang datang sekarang ini pada tempat Tuk Panjang itulah.

Hatta antara berapa selangnya maka bedil itu pun dititahkan baginda kepada datuk bendahara suruh tuanglah, dan tukangnya orang Rum bernama 'Abdussamad. Maka bedil / itu pun dituang oranglah dengan sempurnanya dihadapan Kampung Tembaga itulah, tetapi tiada dapat dibedilkan karena bedil itu nipis.

Hatta¹ antara tiga tahun selangnya maka¹ bedil itu pun disuruh

²⁻² B d-p-n gajah pada gigi (see also 5, 2—2!).

³ B adds: seketika itu Syaikh Gombak dengan 'Abdulmu'min itu pun dibunuh oranglah ("S. G. and A. were immediately put to death").

13 ⁴ B adds: melakukan kodrat iradat ("carrying out His Will").

⁵⁻⁵ B sungai parit itu surut maka mayat itu pun hilirlah akan Kuala Rau dan apabila air itu pasang maka mayat yang kedua itu pun hanyut mudik akan Jambatan Kedi pula beriring-iring, demikian itu tiga hari tiga malam lamanya ("At low tide the corpses drifted downstream to K. R.; at high tide they drifted upstream again to J. K., one behind the other, and this went on for three days and nights").

⁶ B keeps on using Syaikh Gombak, where A uses Nakhoda Gombak from this point onward.

⁷ B adds: segala (r. segera?) hendak disimpan karena sukar sangat didalam sungai itu orang hendak hilir mudik ("in order to bury them quickly, because these corpses made it very difficult for the traffic in the river").

⁸ B Syaikh Gombak.

⁹ B dan lembék loték instead of dengan lembut.

14 ¹⁻¹ B telah sempurna.

rombak oléh baginda dijadikan tiga pucuk pula. Adapun tatkala menuang dia itu hijrat nabi *salla'LLāhu 'alailihi wasallama* kurang² dua delapan puluh,² pada tahun tikus, pada tiga hari bulan Ramadhan, pada malam Thalatha. Maka dengan daulat duli baginda³ bedil tiga pucuk itu pun dituang oranglah dengan sempurnanya.⁴ Setelah sudah maka dinamainya yang pertama Seri Negeri dan yang kedua bernama Tuk Buk⁵ dan yang ketiga bernama Nang Liu-liu.⁶ Demikianlah hikayatnya.

4.

Syahdan antara berapa tahun selangnya maka baginda pun mangkatlah dan paduka anakanda baginda Mudhaffar Syahlah dirajakan orang mengganti kerajaan paduka ayahanda baginda itu duduk⁷ diatas takhta kerajaan dengan 'adil murahnyanya. Maka negeri Patani pun bertambah sentosa dan ma'curnya dan dagang senteri pun terlalu banyak pergi datang.

Hatta antara berapa lamanya maka datang pula seorang Pasai bernama Syaikh Safiuddin. [Maka syaikh] Maka syaikh Safiuddin pun berbuat rumah di padang diluar pintu gerbang itu. Arakian maka Syaikh Safiuddin pun dipanggil raja bertanyakan perintah agama Islam. Maka sembah Syaikh Safiuddin: "Adapun negeri Islam itu maulah ada sebuah mesjid tempat segala ra'cyat menyembah Allah ta'ala, maka nyatalah agama Islam; dan jikalau tiada mesjid itu jua tiadalah kenyataan agama Islam itu."

Arakian maka Sultan Mudhaffar Syah pun memberi titah kepada bendahara menyuruh berbuat mesjid⁸ seperti sembah Syaikh Safiuddin
 15 / itu.¹ Hatta maka mesjid itu pun diperbuat sudahlah, maka Syaikh Safiuddin pun dikaruniai nama Fakih.² Syahdan agama Islam pun

²⁻² B yaitu tahun (sic!).

³ B adds: yang mu'azzam dan yang mukarram ("the venerated and honoured one").

⁴ B adds: dihadapan pintu gerbang. Bermula adalah banyak tembaga yang dituang itu atas bedil yang tiga pucuk itu yaitu tujuh ratus beratnya dan lebih tembaga yang dituang itu dua belas bahara ("in front of the main gate. Now the amount of copper used for casting the three cannon was 700 loads, and the amount of copper left was 12 loads").

⁵ A t-w' b-w', B tan liyak (vocalized) (later on also tang).

⁶ A n-ng l-y-w² (passim), B tu' bak (vocalized).

⁷ A d-w-q-k-n.

⁸⁻¹ (p. 15) B sebuah mesjid didalam negerinya dan sebuah mesjid dibandar ("one mosque in the town and one by the harbour").

15 ²⁻² B Seri Raja Fakih yaitu tempat bertanya dari pada hukum ugama Islam. Maka masyhurlah wartanya ("S. R. F., and he was an authority on Islamic matters").

makin masyhurlah ² dari pada segala dusun hingga datang kepada negeri Kota Maligai itu pun selamalah ³ mengikut syari'at Nabi Muhammad mustafa, sallā 'Llāhu 'alaihi wasallama. Syahdan sungguhpun demikian yang pekerjaan kafir seperti menyembah kayu batu dan tamban ⁴ itu tiada ditinggalkannya, sehingga menyembah berhala dan makan babi itu juga tiada dikerjakannya; demikianlah hikayatnya asal raja Islam pada negeri Patani ini.

Hatta antara berapa lamanya pada suatu hari maka baginda pun semayam di balairung diadap menteri hulubalang dan ra'ayat sekalian. Maka titah baginda kepada bendahara: "Apa bicara bendahara karena kita hendak pergi ke Ayutia ⁵ dan Beracau ⁶ itu pun tiada orang lain dari pada kita dan dari pada sebuah negeri baiklah dua." Maka sembah segala menteri: "Daulat Tuanku, sebenarnya seperti titah Duli Yang Mahamulia itu, supaya bertambah-tambahlah kebesaran Duli Yang Mahamulia pada ⁷ segala negeri yang asing-asing." ⁷

Arakian maka baginda pun menyuruhkan laksamana berlangkap perahu. Hatta berapa hari antaranya maka perahu itu pun musta'iblah. Setelah datanglah kepada ketika yang baik, maka baginda pun berangkatlah diiringkan oleh segala menteri hulubalang yang tua-tua ⁸ dan paduka adinda baginda ditinggalkan menunggui negeri. Setelah berapa hari baginda berlayar itu maka baginda pun sampailah ke Ayutia. ⁹ Arakian maka orang kuala pun segera bersembahkan pada bakelang ¹⁰ mengatakan: "Raja Patani datang hendak mengadap Duli Beracau Yang Mahamulia." Maka bakelang / pun dengan segeranya masuk bersembahkan kebawah Duli Beracau. Setelah Beracau menengar sembah bakelang itu, maka Beracau pun terlalu sukacita, lalu menitahkan segala opya opra' ¹ menyambut Sultan Mudhaffar Syah itu. Syahdan maka baginda pun naiklah mengadap Beracau dengan persembahannya yang indah-indah, dan ² Beracau pun dengan beberapa kemuliaan diper-muliakannya, ² dan Sultan Mudhaffar Syah pun tiada diberi Beracau turun ke perahu, diberi rumah ³ duduk hampir Kota Wang. ³

Adapun akan Sultan Mudhaffar Syah duduk diam itu ada dua bulan

³ B Islamlah semuanya.

⁴ B not clear: angin? angrin? a-yan?

⁵ B ke Kabutia.

⁶ A and B b-r-c-w (passim).

⁷⁻⁷ B termasyhur pada sekalian dagang didalam negeri yang jauh.

⁸ B muda-muda.

⁹ B ke Kabutia.

¹⁰ A b-k-l-ng (passim, sometimes b-g-l-ng), B hulubalang, but later on bekelang.

16 ¹ A a-w-p-y-a a-w-p-r-a', B p-y-a' a-p-r-a'.

²⁻² maka Beracau pun sangat kesukaan dengan beberapa kemuliaan kepada Sultan Mudhaffar Syah ("and the king was extremely pleased, and presented the sultan with various marks of honour").

³⁻³ B suatu tempat disuruh duduk.

lamanya. Pada suatu hari maka Beracau pun bertitah kepada kelehem⁴ dan maha au merata⁵ dan bakelang sudah berkata dengan kias: "Kalau⁶ raja Patani itu mau beristeri di Siam ini." Hatta pada suatu malam maka kelehem dan maha au merata dan bakelang pun pergilah mengadap Sultan Mudhaffar Syah seraya berkata dengan kias dan ⁶ibarat bergurau dengan menteri hulubalang Patani itu. Maka baginda pun tersenyum menengar kata segala menteri ketiga itu oléh diketahuinya akan kehendak Beracau itu. Maka titah baginda kepada kelehem: "Seperti kata tuanhamba ketiga itu sebenarnya, tetapi pada hati hamba Beracau ini raja besar;⁷ adapun datang hamba ini tiada dengan sepertinya. Jikalau sungguh tuanhamba sekalian hendak mengasihi hamba hendaklah tuanhamba tulungi mohonkan hamba kebawah Duli Beracau barangnya pun hamba hendak kembali dahulu. Tatkala⁸ hamba kerjakan seperti kata tuanhamba / itu, apatah nama <Beracau disebut orang? Karena> Beracau raja besar kedengaran pada segala negeri yang lain pun menjadi ⁶aiblah dan tuanhamba pun sia-sialah diperhamba oléh Duli Beracau?"¹ Arakian maka menteri ketiga itu pun bermohon kembali.

Setelah hari siang ketiganya pun masuklah mengadap Duli Beracau bersembahkan seperti kata raja Patani itu. Maka Beracau pun tersenyum seraya bertitah: "Bijaksana anak raja itu. Syahdan hendak pun ia terima karunia kita pada ketika ini, seolah-olah kita pungutlah² namanya,² karena ia pun anak raja besar dan dari karena itulah maka ia hendak kembali dahulu; dan³ biarlah anak raja itu kembali dahulu, biar⁴ ia kembali⁴ dengan segeranya."

Hatta setelah hari malam maka menteri ketiga itu pun pergi mengadap Sultan Mudhaffar Syah. Maka sembah kelehem: "Manakala Tuanku hendak berangkat kembali?" Maka titah baginda: "Jikalau ada karunia Duli Beracau didalam bulan inilah hamba hendak kembali." Maka sembah kelehem: "Jikalau demikian baiklah segera Tuanku bermohon kepada Beracau, dan kepada pendapat patik masakan Beracau Yang Mahamulia itu tiada karunia akan⁵ Tuanku kembali?"⁵

⁴ AB k-l-h-w-m (passim).

⁵ AB m-h-a-a-w-b-r-a-t.

⁶ B kalau².

⁷ lacking in B.

⁸⁻¹ (p. 17) Hendak pun hamba tiada balik dahulu, apatah nama Beracau disebut oléh orang; karena Beracau itu raja yang besar pada zaman ini, jadi termasyhur pada segala negeri yang lain dan hamba (r. tuanhamba?) pun jadi sia-sialah diperhamba oléh Duli Beracau ("If indeed I would not return home first ...").

17 ²⁻² B pungut ambil dia buat menantu.

³ B Maka titah Beracau.

⁴⁻⁴ B kemudian beri dia mari pula.

⁵⁻⁵ B lepas balik.

Hatta antara tiga hari selangnya maka baginda pun masuk mengadap Beracau bermohon pulang. Maka titah Beracau: "Bila kala anak raja hendak pulang?" Maka sembah baginda: "Jikalau ada ampun karunia Yang Mahamulia, tujuh hari lagi patik hendak hilir." Arakian maka titah Beracau kepada cekeri: "Hai cekeri, dimana duduk segala tawanan / yang dibawa dari Pégu¹ dan dari Lancang² itu? Ambil dengan segala anak bininya, beri kepada anak raja ini." Maka sembah cekeri: "Daulat Tuanku, tawanan itu semuanya pun ada, mana titah patik junjung."

Syahdan maka baginda pun menjunjung Duli Beracau, lalu bermohon turun ke perahu. Selang dua hari maka cekeri pun pergi mengadap baginda bersembahkan tawanan Pégu kecil besar ada nampuluh dan tawanan Lancang ada seratus kecil besar.

Hatta antara tujuh hari pada ketika yang baik, maka baginda pun hilirlah lalu berlayar pulang. Syahdan telah sampai ke Patani maka segala Pégu itu diberi duduk di kaki Jambatan Kedi itu disuruh memeliharakan gajah kenaikan baginda, seékor bernama Asing,³ seékor Ighrab;⁴ dan segala orang Lancang diberi duduk di darat Bendang⁵ Parit.

5.

Hatta antara tiga bulan lamanya maka disembahkan kepada Sultan Manzur Syah: "Pégu di kaki Jambatan itu kena⁶ sangat horanya." ⁶ Arakian maka Sultan Manzur Syah pun pergilah mendapatkan Pégu itu. Maka titah baginda: "Hai kalwa,⁷ (artinya⁸ handai⁸) lihat apa⁹ didalam tembera handai itu:⁹ adakah kita ini akan jadi raja atau tiadakah?" Setelah¹⁰ Pégu itu menengar titah raja itu, maka ia pun segera melihat temberanya. Setelah habislah dilihatnya, maka sembah Pégu itu:¹⁰ "Pada tahun ini sampai kepada bulan dua inilah¹¹ Tuanku akan menjadi raja." Setelah baginda menengar sembah Pégu itu, maka titah baginda: "Baiklah, jikalau sungguh seperti kata handai¹² ini, anak handai¹³ ini kita jadikan orang besar." Arakian / maka baginda pun kembalilah. Adapun Sultan Manzur Syah itu peninggal Sultan Mu-

18 ¹ A p-y-k-w (passim), B dari pada Pégau (vocalized) dari is lacking in A.

² AB l-n-c-ng.

³ B isang (?)

⁴ A a-y-gh-r-b, B 'a-y-gh(or p?)-r-a-y-r.

⁵ A b-n-d-ng, B daérah b-n-d-a-n.

⁶⁻⁶ B sangat ketahuinya.

⁷ A sic (vocalized), B pégu.

⁸⁻⁸ lacking in B.

⁹⁻⁹ B apalah hamba ini.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ B Maka Pégu itu pun lihatlah, sembahnya.

¹¹ B itulah.

^{12, 13} B Pégu.

19 ¹⁻¹ B senantiasa baginda itu berulang pergi ia ("he constantly went to and fro").

dhaffar Syah pergi ke Siam itu, sebagai ¹ ia pergi ¹ kepada Tuk Fakih bertanya iman ² Islam. Maka ada anak Tuk Fakih itu Wan Muhammad namanya, dan Wan Muhammad itu pun diambil baginda dijadikan hamba yang chas, tiadalah diberi duduk dengan Tuk Fakih lagi.

Sebermula adapun akan Raja 'A'isyah itu dipersuamikan oleh ayahanda baginda dengan Raja Jalal, dan Raja Jalal itu dijadikan bendahara. Ada dua tahun maka Raja 'A'isyah laki isteri itu pun dirajakan oleh ayahanda baginda di Sai seperti 'adat raja-raja besar-besar, ditabalkan dengan nafiri dan negara. Demikianlah hikayatnya.

Syahdan adapun akan Sultan Mudhaffar Syah, selama baginda kembali dari Siam itu, maka baginda pun menyuruhkan segala menteri hulubalang berlengkap.³ Setelah musta'iblah, maka baginda pun menitahkan hamba raja mudik ke Sai memanggil Bendahara Raja Jalal. Hatta maka Bendahara Raja Jalal pun hilir mengadap baginda. Arakian maka negeri itu pun diserahkan pada Bendahara Raja Jalallah, dan paduka adinda baginda pun mengiringkan baginda. Setelah datanglah pada hari yang baik dan sa'at yang sempurna, maka baginda pun berlayarlah dan segala menteri hulubalang yang muda-muda dua bahagi dibawa dan yang tua-tua ditinggalkan, dan ada seribu ra'yat pertikaman yang dibawa baginda dan perempuan ada seratus.

20 / Hatta antara berapa hari baginda di laut maka baginda pun sampailah ke Siam. Setelah keésokan harinya maka segala apya op^a ¹ pun datanglah, dititahkan oleh Beracau menyambut baginda. Arakian maka baginda pun naiklah mengadap Beracau dengan persembah pun terlalu banyak seperti 'adat segala raja-raja yang memining. Maka Beracau pun terlalu sukacita melihat baginda datang itu serta dengan kasih mesranya seperti mana putera Beracau yang benar, demikianlah laku Beracau itu dan diberi duduk pun hampir dengan pintu Kota Wang.

Adapun ² masa baginda tinggal pergi ke Siam itu isteri baginda itu ² sudah hamil delapan bulan. Setelah genaplah bulannya, maka isteri baginda pun berputeralah seorang laki-laki. Maka dipanggil orang putera baginda itu Sultan ³ Patik Siam. Maka ada pula putera baginda dengan gundik seorang laki-laki bernama Raja Bambang,⁴ ada tiga puluh tahun

² B daripada perintahnya jalan sar^c ugama ("concerning the commands with regard to the religious law").

³ B adds: akan pekerjaan hendak berangkat akan di Siam pula ("for the forthcoming expedition to Siam").

20 ¹ A a-p-y-a a-w-p-r-a', B a-p-y-a' a-p-r'.

²⁻² B Adapun isteri baginda Sultan Mudhaffar Syah ini yang di Patani itu pun.

³ Lacking in B.

⁴ AB b-m-b-ng.

semurnya duduk dengan bundanya diluar Kota Wang.

Sebermula tatkala baginda duduk di Siam itu sebulan kepada sebulan makin bertambah-tambah kasih Beracau akan baginda itu, dan masuk keluar mengadap itu pun tiadalah Beracau menaruh hilat hati lagi.

- 21 Hatta pada suatu malam maka baginda pun berbicara dengan paduka adinda baginda dan segala menteri hulubalang sekalian hendak mengambil kerajaan Beracau itu. Maka segala menteri hulubalang pun bercakaplah.⁵ Arakian setelah datanglah pada ketika ⁶ baginda hendak naik ke mahligai Beracau itu, pada suatu hari pagi-pagi Jum'at ⁶ maka baginda pun masuklah dengan / segala menteri hulubalang dan rakyat kedalam Kota Wang. Maka pintu kota itu pun disuruh tutup pula dan segala mahat liu ¹ itu pun dibunuh oranglah ² dan yang setengah minta nyawa.² Syahdan maka Beracau ³ laki-isteri dengan dayang-dayang ada lima orang pun turun dari mahligai pergi bersembunyi di Jambatan ⁴ Raum,³ dan anakanda baginda tuan puteri dengan segala dayang hendak mengikut Beracau, seorang pun tiada diberinya, semuanya disuruh duduk didalam mahligai itu juga. Maka titah Beracau kepada Nang An Kiau:⁵ "Tinggal engkau ⁶ ini,⁷ pergilah engkau sambut anak raja itu." Arakian maka Beracau pun turunlah dari pada mahligai itu. Maka Nang An Kiau [pun] <dengan> segala dayang-dayang itu pun turunlah mendapatkan baginda, [dengan dayang] ada kadar sepuluh orang.⁷ Maka sembah Nang An Kiau kepada baginda: "Ampun Tuanku, beribu-ribu ampun. Paduka ayahanda pun sudah turun dari mahligai, kemana-mana perginya patik kurang periksa; yang ada di istana itu paduka adinda dengan segala dayang-dayang sekalian."⁸

⁵ B adds: masing-masing pada kelakuannya seperti harimau lepas tangkapan rupanya ("each of them behaving like a tiger just freed from a snare").

⁶⁻⁶ B ketika yang baik maka baginda pun hendak naik ke mahligai Beracau. Pada hari Jum'at ("when the right moment had come the king wanted to ascend to the palace of the Siamese king. On a Friday").

21 ¹ A m-h-a-t l-y-w, B mata² lain ("other officers").

²⁻² B is corrupt: m-t-a' y-ng m-n-a t-a-w² (? mana² yang minta nyawa?).

³⁻³ B Beracau pun turunlah dua² laki-isteri di mahligai dengan segala dayang² ada lima orang pergi bersembunyi di Jambatan Raum (? Ruma?) itu.

⁴ A j-m-b-n (r-a-m).

⁵ AB n-ng a-n k-y-w.

⁶ A aku, B kamu.

⁷⁻⁷ B sekalian duduk dengan anakda tuan puteri di mahligai dan kamu pergi sambut Sultan Mudhaffar Syah Patani itu naik ke mahligai". Syahdan maka Nang An Kiau dengan segala dayang-dayang itu pun pergilah sambuti raja Patani itu, ada kadarnya sepuluh orang dayang-dayang.

⁸ B adds: silakanlah Tuanku naik ("Please enter the palace, my Lord").

Syahdan setelah baginda menengar sembah Nang An Kiau itu, maka baginda kedua bersaudara pun naiklah keatas istana itu hendak menyuruh mencari Beracau. Arakian maka baginda pun terpandang kepada gendang raya tergantung dihadapan mahligai itu. Maka baginda pun memandang ke kiri dan ke kanan, seorang⁹ pun tiada dilihatnya. Maka dilihat baginda budak yang membawa⁹ pengudut¹⁰ baginda itu, Cahaya¹¹ namanya. Maka titah baginda: "Hai Cahaya, pergi engkau tebuk¹² gendang raya itu." Dan pada masa itu / umur Cahaya itu ada limabelas tahun. Telah Cahaya menengar titah baginda itu, maka Cahaya pun pergilah naik kepada¹ tempat gendang yang tergantung itu.¹ Maka dilihat oléh Cahaya pemalu gendang itu pun ada tersisip² kepada tali gendang itu. Maka dengan takdir Allah ta'ala diatas hambanya, tiada³ ditebuknya⁴ gendang itu,³ diambil pemalu gendang itu, lalu dipalunya tiga kali berturut-turut. Maka dilarang oléh baginda.

Setelah⁵ didengar oléh segala menteri hulubalang Beracau dengan segala ra'kyatnya bunyi gendang raya itu, maka segala isi negeri itu pun berhimpunlah kesemuanya;⁵ kepada sangkanya Beracau itu ada lagi dalam mahligai itu, lalu dilanggarnya Kota Wang itu berkeliling. Maka segala menteri hulubalang dan ra'kyat Patani pun keluar dari dalam Kota Wang itu lalu bertikam dengan ra'kyat Siam terlalu ramai.⁶ Maka segala ra'kyat Patani pun patah perangnya,⁶ lalu undur masuk kedalam Kota Wang pula. Maka pintu kota itu pun ditutupnya.

Setelah dilihat baginda segala menteri hulubalangnya patah perangnya itu, maka baginda pun terlalu amarah lalu baginda berangkat keluar sendiri, dan beberapa ditahani oléh adinda baginda dengan segala menteri hulubalangnya tiada diberi baginda itu keluar, maka tiadalah didengar oléh baginda. Arakian maka baginda kedua bersaudara dengan segala menteri hulubalang dan ra'kyat pun bertikamlah dengan segala

⁹⁻⁹ B maka terpandang kepada seorang budak yang jorok membawa ("and his eye fell on a young boy ..."; is *jorok* the Jakarta *jorok*, "dirty"?).

¹⁰ A p-ng-w-d-h, B p-ng-w-d(or r)-t.

¹¹ AB c-h-y-a (passim, but A once spells it j-a-y).

¹² A b-t-q (but see 22,2), B t-m-b-w-q.

22 ¹⁻¹ lacking in B.

² B terselit.

³⁻³ maka budak Cahaya itu pun.

⁴ A d-t-b-q-ny.

⁵⁻⁵ B Seketika maka kedengaranlah bunyi gendang raya itu kepada segala menteri hulubalang Siam itu pun berhimpunlah penuh sesak mengatakan Beracau minta' tolong. ("As soon as the Siamese ministers and officers heard the sound of the royal drum they gathered in large numbers, saying that the king was asking for help.")

⁶⁻⁶ B adds cliché description of battle.

akun⁷ awamin⁸ apra'⁹ awya¹⁰ ra^cyat Siam itu sekalian, diamuknya
 23 oléh segala menteri hulubalang, dan baginda kedua bersaudara pun
 masuk mengamuk sendiri. Maka segala ra^cyat Siam pun tiadalah / ter-
 hisabkan lagi matinya dan segala akun¹ awamin² pun banyak matinya,
 maka segala ra^cyat Siam pun patahlah perangnya undur berhimpun
 kepada Kampung³ Ceker.³ Dan akhirnya maka baginda pun⁴ luka
 lengan sebelah kiri tembus kena bedil.

Hatta maka baginda dengan segala menterinya pun masuklah kedalam
 Kota Wang itu pula semayam diatas mahligai. Maka titah baginda
 kepada adinda baginda itu: "Adik⁵ pergilah pulang; yang abang ini
 negeri inilah akan kubur abang."⁵ Setelah didengar oléh adinda baginda
 titah paduka kakanda itu demikian, maka⁶ adinda baginda pun⁶
 menangis seraya sujud pada duli kakanda baginda, sembahnya: "Mo-
 honlah Tuanku patik pulang; jikalau baik jahat pun patik hendak ber-
 sama-sama dengan Duli Tuankulah."

Maka beberapa sembah paduka adinda baginda itu tiada mau pulang
 tiada juga didengarnya oléh baginda, disuruh juga paduka adinda itu
 pulang.⁷ Maka titah baginda: "Jikalau adik tiada pulang juga, apalah
 halnya segala ra^cyat kita, dan negeri kita pun tiadalah berketahuan, dan
 silsilah keturunan kita pun jadi putuslah." Arakian maka adinda baginda
 pun tiadalah berdaya lagi dan beberapa sembahnya pun disuruhnya
 pulang juga oléh kakanda, maka paduka adinda pun bermohonlah pada
 kakanda, lalu turun ke perahu kepada malam itu juga.⁷ Dan segala
 perempuan semuanya diberi kembali bersama-sama adinda, pegawai
 yang kecil-kecil gelarannya tiga orang dan laki-laki yang dapat mel-
 ayarkan perahu itu, ada himmat empat puluh; dan yang tinggal
 24 bersama-sama baginda itu ada tengah dua ribu dengan ra^cyat perti-
 kaman. Maka Nang⁸ Liu-liu⁸ itu pun dibawalah baginda / dibawa ke

⁷ A sic (vocalized), B 'a-m-b-r-t.

⁸ A a-w-a-m-y-n, lacking in B.

⁹ A a-p-r-a', B a-p-r'-t.

¹⁰ AB a-w-y-a.

23 ¹ A sic, B a-w-k-n.

² A sic, B a'-m-y-n.

³⁻³ B rumah ceker dan a-w-m-r-t.

⁴ B adds: adalah calamat tiwasnya peperangan karena ("there was a portent that he was going to lose the battle, for ...").

⁵⁻⁵ B ya adinda sultan Manzur Syah, baiklah paduka adinda kembali ke negeri Patani dan yang kakanda ini tiadalah kakanda mau kembali dan yang negeri Siam inilah akan tempat kubur paduka kakanda ("Well, brother M. S., you had better return to Patani; as for me, I shall not return; I shall find my grave in this country of Siam").

⁶⁻⁶ B maka berdebarlah hatinya seperti jatuh diatas malakiri (?) rasanya seraya ("and his heart throbbed; it felt as though it had fallen on a ...?").

⁷⁻⁷ Much longer in B.

⁸⁻⁸ B bedil yang bernama Tan Liu (B also has Tan Liu on following page).

buritan dijadikan tahan penurut. Maka Sultan Manzur Syah pun hilirlah sambil berkelahi dengan segala perahu Siam yang menurut itu. Maka ¹ dibedil dengan Nang Liu-liu itulah. Syahdan maka baginda pun berdiri dipegang Nang Liu-liu ¹ itu seraya bertitah: "Hai Nang Liu-liu,² jikalau engkau lepaskan aku selamat sampai ke Patani aku tabalkan engkau tujuh hari." Arakian maka perahu Siam yang menurut itu pun dibedilnya banyaklah tenggelam dan yang lain dari itu tiadalah berani hampir kepada perahu baginda itu lagi, hingga diturutnya dari jauh juga. Hatta dengan demikian maka baginda pun lepaslah ke laut dan pada masa itu Siam belum lagi tahu berperahu di laut dan negerinya pun di ³ hulu di luar.³

Bermula adapun Sultan Mudhaffar ⁴ Syah peninggalan adinda baginda itu, maka baginda pun peranglah. Syahdan kata ⁵ perang ini tiada dapat ⁶ pendapat yang empunya hikayat ini, melainkan baginda itu peranglah; akan ⁷ khabarnya itu tiada <di> dengar ⁷ dari karena peninggalan Sultan Manzur Syah itu tiadalah diperoléh khabat segala yang tinggal itu dari pada mati dan hidupnya atau kemana-mana perginya, karena tiada barang seorang kembali ke Patani lagi.

6.

Hatta antara berapa hari baginda berlayar itu maka baginda pun sampailah ke Laut Tanjung, dan itu pun disuruh baginda layarkan ⁸ lalu ke ⁸ Berawas.⁹ Setelah sampai ke Berawas maka perahu itu pun dilabuhkan oranglah. Arakian maka baginda pun menitahkan orang Berawas itu mudik memanggil I Sai.¹⁰ Setelah dua hari lamanya maka I Sai pun datanglah mengadap baginda, maka titah baginda: "Hai I Sai, 25 pergilah engkau hilir persembahkan Bendahara / Raja Jalal, engkau katakan bendahara, engkau hilir ini engkau sembahkan musuh Johor hendak ¹ menyerang Sai, yang sampai ke ¹ Terengganu kelengkapannya sudah tujuh puluh, lain dari pada penjajab dan kakapnya;² dan jangan engkau mengatakan aku sudah datang; barang siapa mengatakan aku

24 ¹⁻¹ B Maka baginda itu pun berdirilah di buritan perahunya memegang bedil yang bernama Tan Liu ("and the king stood in the stern of his ship, grasping the cannon which was called T. L.").

² A n-ng l-y-w-y² (only here).

³⁻³ A d-h-w-l d-l-w-r, B dihulu lu'ruk (l-w'-ruq).

⁴ A m-n-s-w-r.

⁵ lacking in B.

⁶ B adds bagi (?).

⁷⁻⁷ lacking in B.

⁸⁻⁸ B layar pergi akan Kuala.

⁹ A k-b-r-w-s, B b-r-w-s, later on also b-r-w-a-s.

¹⁰ A a-y s-y, B a-y-s-y-y.

25 ¹⁻¹ B setelah sampai akan.

² A k-a-k-y-ny.

sudah datang, orang itu kubunuh dengan segala anak cucunya, seorang tiada kuhidupkan." Maka sembah I Sai: "Daulat Tuanku, karena patik ini hamba yang hina kebawah Duli Yang Mahamulia, masakan ³ berani patik melalui titah Duli Yang Mahamulia ini"? ³

Hatta maka I Sai pun bermohonlah, lalu hilir menyembahkan Bendahara Raja Jalal seperti titah baginda itu. Setelah Bendahara Raja Jalal menengar sembah I Sai itu, maka Bendahara Raja Jalal pun menyuruh berkerah segala menteri pegawai yang tinggal itu dengan segala ra^cyat, disuruhnya berlengkap negeri dan bersambang malam siang, jangan taksir. "Dan ⁴ jikalau dari pada api asapnya malam siang ⁵ engkau sekalian kubunuh. Dan aku mudik pun ⁴ tiada lama sehingga lima hari juga aku hilirlah."

Setelah sudah Bendahara berpesan itu, maka Bendahara Raja Jalal pun mudiklah ke Sai. Setelah sampai ke Tabih ⁶ maka orang yang dititahkan baginda melihat Bendahara Raja Jalal itu pun datanglah ke Berawas mengadap baginda menyembahkan: "Bendahara Raja Jalal itu sudah mudik ke Tabih." Maka baginda pun menyuruhkan orang memongkar sauh, lalu berlayar ke bandar. Setelah sampai lalu naik berjalan kedalam negeri, lalu ke istana kakanda baginda bertakhta diatas takhta ⁷ kerajaan. Maka genderang tabal / pun dipalu oranglah, dan segala menteri pegawai hulubalang pun semuanya menjunjung duli baginda. Setelah sudah maka segala menteri pegawai hulubalang pun semuanya yang mati di Siam bersama-sama dengan kakanda itu pun semuanya digelar baginda akan gantinya pula. Adapun bedil yang bernama Nang ¹ Liu-liu ¹ itu pun dipayung dengan payung ubur-ubur ditabalkan tiga hari tiga malam. Dalam tiga hari itu baginda pun tiadalah tabal lagi. Setelah sudah bedil itu ditabalkan, maka baginda pun tabal pula seperti adat raja-raja yang baharu naik raja diatas takhta kerajaan.

Arakian maka khabar Sultan Manzur Syah sudah kerajaan itu pun sampailah kepada Bendahara Raja Jalal. Maka ia pun segera hilir mengadap Sultan Manzur Syah ke Patani. Setelah berapa lamanya maka ² Bendahara Raja Jalal pun bermohon mudik ke Sai. Maka tetaplah ia diatas takhta kerajaannya di Sai itu.

³⁻³ lacking in B.

⁴⁻⁴ B barangsiapa alpaikan pekerjaan jaga-jaga malam siang niscaya aku akan (sic) karena aku hendak mudik ("Anyone who neglects his guard-duties by day or night I shall certainly kill. For I shall go upstream.").

⁵ A petang.

⁶ AB k-t-a-b-y-h.

⁷ B singgasana.

26 ¹⁻¹ B Tang Liu.

²⁻² B Raja Jalal kerajaan di Sai itu.

Antara berapa lamanya ² maka Bendahara Raja Jalal pun matilah, maka Raja 'A'isyah pun disambut adinda baginda pulang ke Patani. Adapun Raja 'A'isyah itu tiada beranak, hingga memelihara Sultan Patik Siam itu juga sahaja. Syahdan dari karena itulah segala yang ³ jadi bendahara di Patani itu hendak makan Sai itu. Bahwa sesungguhnya Sai itu bukan ia dari pada semegat ⁴ bendahara dengan sebab mengikut ⁵ Bendahara Raja Jalal itu ⁶ juga.⁶

7.

Sebermula khabar baginda mangkat di Siam itu pun masyhurlah ⁷ mengatakan ra'ayat Patani itu habis mati di Siam dengan segala menteri hulubalangnya dan ra'ayat / sekalian <dan orang> laki-laki hendak menyembelih ayam ¹ pun tiada dalam negeri Patani itu. Hatta maka khabar itu pun sampailah ke Palémbang. Maka sultan Palémbang pun menyuruhkan penggawanya yang bernama Kiai Badar ² itu menjarah ke Patani membawa ra'ayat ada selaksa banyaknya. Setelah ³ Kiai Badar sampai ke bandar Patani, maka Kiai Badar pun peranglah dengan orang Patani, ada lima hari lima malam Kiai Badar perang ⁴ itu, tiada juga dapat naik ke darat. Berapa-berapa dikuatnya hendak naik ke pantai bandar itu, tiada dapat juga. Maka Kiai Badar pun kembalilah.³ Setelah Kiai Badar sampai ke Palémbang lalu naik mengadap sultan ratu. Maka segala kelakuan ia berperang itu pun semuanya dipersembhakkannya pada sultan ratu.

Maka tatkala itu ada seorang penggawa sultan Palémbang itu Kiai Kelasang ⁵ namanya ada mengadap di paséban. Maka Kiai Kelasang pun memekis serta katanya: "Cih, jika manira gerakan dititahkan oléh Duli Sultan, sehari manira sampai itulah manira naik makan ⁶ di paséban ⁷ ratu Patani itu." Setelah didengar Kiai Badar kata Kiai Kelasang itu demikian maka Kiai Badar pun terlalu amarah: "Jangan pakanira berkata demikian itu, karena ratu Patani itu pun raja besar ⁸ juga.

³ A s-k-l-y-ng.⁴ AB s-m-k-t.⁵ B adds kelakuan.⁶⁻⁶ B itulah ingat-ingat. After ingat-ingat follows (though in a different order) what occurs in A on pp. 88—89, see Notes below.⁷ B kedengaranlah kepada negeri Palémbang.27 ¹ B ayam itik.² A b-d-r (passim), B b-n-d-a-r (several times, but later on b-d-r).³⁻³ B is fuller.⁴ A w-ng.⁵ AB k-l-a-s-ng (passim).⁶ B mangan hidang-hidangan.⁷ B balairung.⁸ B yang agung.

Pada bicara manira jangankan demi⁹ sampai pakanira hendak makan¹⁰ di paséban ratu Patani itu, jika¹¹ sampai tiga hari pun manira beri, jika dapat pakanira centang¹² lawang sekéténg ratu Patani itu, itu pun pakanira ambillah rabi manira ini.”¹¹

- 28 Arakian maka Kiai Kelasang pun dititahkan / sultan Palémbang menyerang Patani membawa ra^cyat ada seketi¹ banyaknya. Setelah Kiai Kelasang sampai ke Patani maka Kiai Kelasang pun peranglah dengan orang Patani lari naik menjarah ke bandar. Maka segala ra^cyat Patani pun patahlah perangnya lalu undur masuk kedalam kota. Maka diturut² oléh orang Palémbang hingga sampai ke padang dihadapan pintu gerbang itu. Maka dilawan oléh orang Patani dari dalam kota. Maka Kiai Kelasang pun tiadalah dapat³ hampir kaki kota, karena bedilnya terlalu banyak diatas berkeliling sehingga sedepa jarangnyanya. Maka bedil yang bernama Seri Negeri itu pun dibedilkan oranglah, dan Nang⁴ Liu-liu⁴ dengan Tuk Buk⁵ itu pun dibedil⁶ juga kepada ra^cyat Kelasang itu.⁶ Maka ra^cyat Kelasang pun terlalu banyak matinya dan luka tiada dapat dikira-kirakan lagi, safa-safa.⁷ Dengan daulat Sultan Manzur Syah, maka segala ra^cyat Palémbang pun habislah lari dan Kiai Kelasang pun undur ke bandar. Maka diturut oléh orang Patani, maka⁸ Kiai Kelasang pun turun ke perahu, lalu kembali ke Palémbang.⁸

⁹ mula-mula.

¹⁰ makan hidang-hidangan.

¹¹⁻¹¹ B jikalau sampai tiga hari sekalipun tiada dapat hendak naik ke darat; jikalau tiada seperti manira kata, ambillah oléh manira isteri manira akan pakanira (“you will not be able to land even in three days’ time; but if my words should prove to be wrong, then you may take my wife and make her yours”).

¹² A c-n-t-ng.

28 ¹ B adds: dan kata setengah lapan laksa banyaknya, and is generally fuller here.

² A d-t-w-r-n.

³ A hampir dapat (instead of dapat hampir).

⁴⁻⁴ B Tan Liu.

⁵ A b-w-a’, B yaq.

⁶⁻⁰ B yang sangat membina<akan> sekalian ra^cyat Jawa Palémbannya (“were utterly devastating for the Palémbang Javanese”).

⁷ A ş-f-a ş-f-a, B şaffan şaffa.

⁸⁻⁸ B has the additional information: dibedil dan dipanah dengan pelbagai senjata, maka kiai Kelasang pun naik perahu lalu berlayar. Maka orang Patani pun terlalu banyak beroléh rampasan di pantai bandar itu. Maka ra^cyat Palémban (sic!) pun berlailah menyusur pantai Tanjung dan pantai Berawas dan pantai Gigir. Maka orang disitu dan Kampung Berawas itu pun segeralah dibawa bedil naik keatas Bukit Gigir. Maka apabila berbetul dengan Jawa Palémban itu, maka dibedillah dengan léla rentaka. Maka Jawa Palémban itu pun larilah pula menurut ke laut. Sebab itulah dipanggil orang Bukit Gigir. Demikianlah diceterakan oléh orang yang empunya ceteranya. (“They shot at them with all kinds of weapons, and Kyai Kelasang retired to his ships and set sail. And the people of Patani took a large amount of booty on the shores of the harbour. Then those of Palémbang fled along the coast past Tanjung and Berawas and Gigir. The people there and those in Kampung

Adapun dikatakan orang tua-tua, tatkala dibedilkan Seri Negeri itu pelurunya jatuh ke Kuala Bang Pelemu,⁹ akan Nang¹⁰ Liu-liu itu pelurunya jatuh ke seberang Kuala Bekah,¹¹ akan Tuk Buk¹² itu pelurunya jatuh ke Kampung Mendaharan,¹³ semburannya itulah yang sangat membinasakan ra'ayat Kelasang itu¹⁴ lari turun ke perahu itu; terlalu banyak orang Patani beroléh rampasan di pantai bandar itu.¹⁴ Adapun antara Kiai Badar dengan Kelasang itu empat puluh hari juga selangnya, ada yang berkata dua bulan.

- 29 Syahdan setelah selesailah dari pada musuh Kelasang itu, / ada sebulan selangnya maka kota negeri yang sebelah ke darat itu pun dimasukkan¹ baginda ikut parit yang ditengah negeri itu, karena segala ra'ayat yang ada lagi itu dua bahagi, yang sebahagi yang ada segala ra'ayat tinggal dari Siam; itulah sebabnya maka negeri Patani itu sempit sebelah matahari naik, sebab mengikut bangun parit yang ditengah negeri itu.¹

8.

Sebermula adapun Sultan Manzur Syah itu ada berputera tujuh orang, lima orang perempuan, dua orang laki-laki; dan yang tua itu bernama Raja Ijau dan yang kedua bernama Raja Biru dan yang ketiga bernama Raja Ungu dan keempat bernama Raja Kuning dan kelima anak gundik baginda seorang laki-laki bernama Raja Bima dan keenam anak dengan isteri bernama Raja Emas Kerecang² dan³ ketujuh laki-laki bernama Sultan Bahdur Syah. Adapun Raja Emas Kerecang itu³ mati 'umurnya ada lima tahun [baharu], terlalu kasih paduka ayahanda akan anakanda baginda; itulah yang diperbuatkan nisan emas dan dikuburkan pun hampir dengan istana, empat puluh hari tiada diberi orang

Berawas immediately took their guns up the hill called Bukit Gidir. And when they were directly facing the Palémbang Javanese they shot at them with all kinds of guns. So the Javanese fled again and took to the open sea. That is why the hill is called Bukit Gidir, The Hill of Tumult, according to the story as told by the man who possesses it").

⁹ A b-ng p-l-m-w, B lacks these words.

¹⁰ A t-ng, B tan.

¹¹ A b-k-h.

¹² A b-w', B yaq.

¹³ A m-n-d-a-r-h-n (or: m-n-d-r-a-h-n), B m-n-d-h-r-a.

¹⁴⁻¹⁴ lacking in B here (see above, 8-8).

29 ¹⁻¹ B dihambat masuk pula sedikit oléh baginda sultan karena hendak menurut parit yang sama tengah negeri itu ("was moved slightly inwards by the sultan, as it had to follow the canal which ran right through the middle of the town").

² A k-r-c-ng, B k-r-n-c-ng.

³⁻³ maka yaitu.

menumbuk dalam negeri itu, kalau ⁴ rentan ⁴ sampai kepada mayat paduka anakanda itu; dan barang siapa hendak menumbuk keluar menumbuk ke Sungai Pandan ⁵ dan segala yang berbuat makanan sedikit sebanyak digiling dengan batu.

30 Syahdan paduka anakanda Bahdur ⁶ Syah ⁶ itulah yang dipungutkan oleh baginda segala anak menteri dan anak orangkaya-kaya akan pengasuh anakanda baginda itu; dan anak Pégu hora ⁷ / itu pun diambil baginda, maka diberi nama Alung In, ¹ tiada diberi panggil nama cara Pégu itu; dan cucu Tuk Fakih anak Wan Muhammad itu pun diambil seorang akan pengasuh anakanda juga, Wan Jaharullah ² namanya. Adapun paduka anakanda yang bernama Raja Ungu itu bersuamikan Raja Pahang.

9.

Hatta antara berapa lamanya pada suatu hari maka baginda pun semayam di balairung diadap oleh segala menteri hulubalang sekalian. Maka titah baginda: "Kita hendak mengutus ke Siam." ³ Maka segala menteri hulubalang pun semuanya menundukkan kepalanya, seorang pun tiada berdatang sembah. Maka titah baginda: "Didalam segala menteri hulubalang sekalian ini siapa yang bercakap pergi ke Siam itu? Karena kita hendak mengutus kepada Beracau supaya kita boleh ⁴ menengar khabar saudara kita yang tinggal di benua Siam itu." Maka sembah segala menteri hulubalang itu: "Daulat Tuanku, karena patik ini hamba yang hina dibawah cerpu Duli Yang Mahamulia, mana titah patik junjung; karena patik ini hamba, tiada dapat melalui titah tuannya yang mana dititahkan itu; ialah yang menyunjungkan titah maka hamba namanya." Maka titah baginda: "Tiada kita kehendaki yang demikian itu; barang siapa yang ridha hatinya jikalau kita hendak suruhkan, barang siapanya itu tiada kita bertanya." Maka sembah segala menteri sekalian itu: "Jikalau ada limpah ampun karunia Duli Yang Mahamulia diatas jemala patik sekalian ini, dari pada Duli Yang Mahamulia titahkan pergi ke Siam, baiklah Paduka Seri Sultan buangkan patik sekalian
31 di ⁵ sini, dapat juga patik kecil / letih ¹ melihat kematian patik seka-

⁴⁻⁴ A k-a-l-w-r-n(-b?)-t-n, B jadi k-a-l-w-r-n-t-n.

⁵ A P-n-d-a-n, B P-n-d-ng. ⁶⁻⁶ lacking in B.

⁷ B sic!

30 ¹ B Alwan In (vocalized) (later on also Alwang and Alung!).

² j-h-a-r-l-h, B j-h-r-a-l-l-h, later on j-h-a-r-l-l-h.

³ B is often fuller here, without adding relevant information; in this place, e.g., it adds: Apa bicara kamu sekalian? ("What do you all say to that?").

⁴ B beroléh.

⁵ B dari.

31 ¹⁻¹ B itu melihat kematian Tuanku.

lian. Dalam pada itu pun tiada dapat patik melalui titah Duli Yang Mahamulia.”¹ Setelah baginda menengar sembah segala menteri hulubalang itu maka baginda pun tunduk pikir, benar pada hati baginda seperti sembah² segala² meréka itu, maka baginda pun diamlah.

Hatta antara berapa hari selangnya pada suatu hari baginda semayam di bendul pengadapan dalam diadap oléh bentara Seri Nara³ Indera kedua dan segala mahat [kedua] biduanda dan hamba raja tapakan sekaliannya⁴ dan Wan Muhammad pun ada mengadap baginda. Maka titah baginda: “Hai Muhammad, apa bicaramu aku hendak mengutus ke Siam ini? Seorang pun segala menteri hulubalangku tiada bercakap pergi.” Setelah Wan Muhammad menengar titah duli baginda itu, maka Wan Muhammad pun mengunus kerisnya dari pinggangnya diletakkannya, maka ia pun bertelut menjunjung duli baginda tiga kali berturut-turut, maka sembah Wan Muhammad: “Daulat Tuanku, barang ditambahi Allah kiranya daulat sa^cadat Duli Yang Mahamulia datang kepada akhir zaman paduka anakanda dan cucunda sekalian; dan yang patik ini hamba yang hina lagi bebal menjunjung ayapan pagi petang lagi budak-budak dibawah cerpu Duli Seri Sultan Yang Mahamulia, tiadalah ada bicara kepada patik yang dapat⁵ persembahkan kebawah cerpu Duli Yang Dipertuan; yang ada kepada patik ini hanyalah darah daging patik ini yang dapat patik persembahkan kebawah Duli Yang Mahamulia. Yang bicara itu tiadalah / kepada patik hamba yang bebal ini.” Setelah baginda menengar sembah Wan Muhammad itu maka baginda pun diam seketika. Maka titah baginda: “Hai Muhammad, cakapkah engkau pergi ke Siam itu?” Maka sembah Wan Muhammad: “Daulat Tuanku, mana titah Duli Yang Mahamulia patik junjung.”

Hatta setelah keésokan harinya maka baginda pun berangkat keluar semayam di balairung diadap segala menteri hulubalang ra^cyat sekalian. Maka titah baginda: “Tujuh hari lagi kita hendak utuskan Muhammad pergi ke Siam.” Maka sembah segala menteri hulubalangnya: “Daulat Tuanku, mana titah patik sekalian junjung.” Arakian maka baginda pun menitahkan bendahara suruh berengkap akan pergi sembah ke Siam itu, ikut seperti ^cadat paduka kakanda mengadap Beracau itulah. Hatta setelah datanglah kepada hari yang baik maka baginda pun semayam di balairung diatas Rangkai Raksi¹ diadap oléh segala menteri hulu-

²⁻² A s-k-l-y, B sembahnya.

³ A s-r-n-y-a-r, B seri.

⁴ A segala.

⁵ B hina hanyalah.

32 ¹ B r-ng-g-y r-a-q-s-y.

balang. Maka Wan Muhammad disuruh panggil. Setelah Wan Muhammad datang maka baginda pun mengaruniai persalin. Maka bentara kedua pun datang menjunjung titah, demikian katanya: "Hai Wan Muhammad, titah Duli Yang Mahamulia karunia nama Orangkaya Seri Agar Diraja." Maka Seri Agar pun bertelut menjunjung duli baginda lalu bermohon turun ke perahu. Maka Seri Agar pun berlayarlah.

33 Hatta berapa hari di laut maka Seri Agar pun sampailah ke Siam. Maka dipersembahkan orang kepada Bakelang. Maka Bakelang pun segera masuk mengadap Beracau persembahkan utusan dari Patani datang hendak mengadap Duli Yang Mahamulia. Maka Beracau pun terlalu sukacita menengar sembah Bakelang mengatakan utusan Patani / datang itu. Maka titah baginda Beracau pada Bakelang: "Suruhlah pergi sambut perahu utusan Patani itu, bawa mudik dengan segeranya." Maka Bakelang pun bermohonlah lalu keluar menyuruhkan orang membawa mudik perahu Seri Agar itu. Setelah sampai ke labuhan pada keésokan harinya maka surat dan segala bingkisan pun diarak oranglah dengan gendang nafiri, dan payung¹ iram² kekuningan pun terkembanglah kiri kanan gajah menanggung surat itu.¹ Setelah sampai maka surat dan bingkisan itu pun disambut orang dibawa mengadap Beracau.³ Setelah Beracau menengar bunyi didalam surat itu maka Beracau pun terlalu suka. Setelah sudah dibaca orang surat itu maka Seri Agar pun menjunjung duli Beracau [seketika duduk maka Seri Agar pun menjunjung duli Beracau]. Seketika duduk maka Seri Agar pun dipersalin. Arakian maka Seri Agar pun bermohon turun ke perahu.

Hatta antara dua puluh hari lamanya maka Seri Agar pun naik mengadap Bakelang hendak bermohon pulang. Arakian maka Seri Agar pun dibawa oléh Bakelang masuk mengadap Beracau. Maka titah Beracau: "Hai Seri Agar, pergilah⁴ engkau segera-segera pulang ke Patani itu,⁴ <kalau-kalau raja Patani itu>⁵ bimbang hatinya akan engkau dan yang dosanya saudaranya itu aku ampunilah." Maka sembah Seri Agar: "Daulat Tuanku, yang hamba itu apabila diampuni oléh tuannya hidup, apabila dibunuh Duli Yang Mahamulia mati, maka hamba namanya." Arakian maka Seri Agar pun dikarunia ayapan. Setelah sudah makan maka persalin pun dibawa oranglah. Setelah sudah memakai persalin maka Seri Agar pun menjunjung duli Beracau ber-

33¹⁻¹ B dipayungkan surat itu dengan kekuningan gajah kenaikan yang menanggung surat itu. ² A a-r-m.

³ B adds: maka lalu dibaca surat itu dengan nyaring suaranya ("Then the letter was read out aloud").

⁴⁻⁴ B baiklah balik.

⁵ addition from B.

- 34 mohon / turun ke perahu dan surat pun diarak oranglah. Maka Seri Agar pun mengiringkan surat itu dan karunia bingkisan dari pada Beracau pun terlalu banyak dan segala apya op¹ pun disuruh berikan² Seri Agar itu ikut atas kadarnya dan sangatlah karuniakan utusan itu.² Setelah Seri Agar itu sampai ke perahu maka surat itu pun segera disambut olé^h Seri Agar dijunjungnya, lalu dibawa masuk ke-dalam kurung dan segala akun³ op³ yang mengiringkan surat itu pun terlalu suka melihat Seri Agar memuliakan surat Beracau itu. Setelah sudah bersimpan segala bingkis itu, maka Seri Agar pun hilirlah. Setelah datang ke laut maka perahu itu pun dilayarkan oranglah.

- Hatta antara berapa hari di laut maka Seri Agar pun sampailah ke labuhan, lalu dibuang obat⁴ bedil.⁴ Setelah datang keésokan harinya maka surat itu pun diarak oranglah dengan sepertinya. Setelah datang ke balairung maka Seri Agar pun menjunjung duli baginda. Syahdan Seri Agar pun dipanggil hampir kebawah duli baginda. Maka Seri Agar pun merangkak⁵ masuk. Setelah hampir maka Seri Agar pun menjunjung duli pula dan baginda pun tunduk mencium kepala Seri Agar seraya bertitah: "Aku melihat Muhammad kembali dengan selamatnya ini seperti aku melihat saudaraku di Siam itulah⁶ hidup⁶ pula." Maka sembah segala menteri hulubalang: "Daulat Tuanku, barang bertambah-tambah kiranya daulat sa^cadat Duli Yang Mahamulia diatas takhta kerajaan." Dan Seri Agar pun menjunjung duli pula; lalu dijunjungnya
- 35 duli baginda itu ia kembali duduk pada tempatnya / dan surat itu pun dibaca oranglah.¹ Syahdan <baginda pun> terlalu sukacita menengar bunyi didalam surat itu, sangat karunia Beracau akan Muhammad,¹ dan segala menteri hulubalang pun amat sukacita menengar Beracau mengampuni dosa baginda itu.

34 ¹ A a-p-y-a a-w-p-r-a', B 'a-p-y-a dan p-r-t.

²⁻² B olé^h Beracau beri juga kepada Seri Agar Diraja pakaian dan lainnya barang ada kadarnya ("the king ordered them to give cloth and other presents to S.A.D., according to their ability").

³⁻³ B 'a-p-y-a' a-p-r-t.

⁴⁻⁴ A a-w-t-h.

⁵ A m-r-ng-k (B lacks this sentence).

⁶⁻⁶ B Demikianlah pada rasanya baginda kakanda itu hidup pula ("So the king felt as though his elder brother had come back to life again").

35 ¹⁻¹ B olé^h khatib. Setelah baginda mendengar bunyinya dalam surat Beracau itu karena sangatlah diampun olé^h Beracau akan dosa kakanda baginda sultan Mudhaffar Syah itu maka terlalu sukacita hatinya seperti mendapat gunung emas gunung ma'nikam permata ra'na intan baiduri demikianlah pada rasa sukanya ("... by the preacher. When the king had heard the contents of the letter he was extremely happy, as the Siamese king had completely forgiven his brother's sins, and felt as though he had found a mountain of gold or a mountain of the most precious jewels").

10.

Sebermula adapun Sultan Bahdur itu sungguhpun banyak segala pengasuhnya yang ² lain dan yang tiada dapat jauh itu, dan Jaharullah dengan Alung In itulah yang ² tiada dapat bercerai ³ dan enam tujuh hari pun tiada dapat pulang barang seketika, karena keduanya dijadikan kenaikan seperti gajah; dan diperbuatkan oléh baginda akan anakanda baginda itu kosa emas dan dengan kosa itulah dikosa oléh Sultan Bahdur pada kepala orang dua ini dan terkadang keluar darah pada kepala orang dua itu dikosanya. Dan jikalau mandi atau bersantap pun diatas belakang orang dua itulah salah seorang, tetapi yang terlebih sangat Wan Jaharullah itulah yang tiada dapat jauh. Dan ⁴ apabila paduka anakanda itu mandi diatas belakang salah seorang dari pada keduanya itu maka dikaruniai kain lain oléh baginda akan orang itu dan demikianlah kelakuan Sultan Bahdur Syah dengan pengasuhnya itu.⁴

36 Hatta antara berapa tahun lamanya Sultan Manzur Syah diatas takhta kerajaan itu maka baginda pun gering. Arakian maka diwasiatkan oléh ⁵ baginda: „Apabila nurmala bunga di peraduan ⁵ Sultan Patik Siamlah disuruh tabalkan.” / Syahdan tatkala mangkat baginda Sultan Patik Siamlah ditabalkan orang. Adapun Sultan Patik Siam itu baharu sembilan tahun ‘umurnya dan tatkala ditabalkan orang Sultan Patik Siam itu maka diriba oléh Raja ‘A’isyah; dan Raja ‘A’isyah itu orang panggil Pera’cau dan dari itulah di Patani ini [apabila ini] apabila raja perempuan juga dipanggil orang Pera’caulah sebab mengikut nama Raja ‘A’isyah itu.

Hatta antara berapa tahun Sultan Patik Siam itu diatas takhta kerajaan ¹ maka seorang pegawai ² Seri ‘Amrat ³ namanya. Syahdan pada suatu hari maka ⁴ Seri ‘Amrat pun pergi mengadap Raja Bambang. Maka sembah Seri ‘Amrat:⁴ “Mengapa maka Tuanku berdiam-diam

²⁻² B dan yang terlebih hampir dari sekaliannya dan.

³ B adds: padanya yaitu Wan Jahrullah nama dan Alwang In seorang nama, itulah yang sangat berkasih-kasih (‘‘were W. J. and A. I.; with them he was very intimate’’).

⁴⁻⁴ lacking in B. ⁵⁻⁵ lacking in B.

36 ¹ B adds: maka sempurnalah namanya, maka didalam itu ada (‘‘his name was perfect; then there was ...’’).

² Throughout this section, wherever Seri ‘Amrat is mentioned B replaces his name with some abusive word like mal‘un (‘‘cursed’’), munafik (‘‘hypocrite’’), dajal (‘‘Satan’’), fitnah (‘‘scandalmonger’’), or it adds such a word to his name. Not all of these variants in B have been recorded below.

³ B Amar Pahlawan.

⁴⁻⁴ B itu pun pergi mengadap Raja Bambang sembahnya.

tiada mau membicarakan negeri, karena Tuankulah yang patut membicarakan negeri karena paduka adinda itu lagi kecil." Maka kata Raja Bambang: "Orangkaya pun tahulah akan beta ini orang yang tiada berpenguasaan,⁵ jikalau segala bicara beta masakan dapat beta kerjakan." Maka sembah Seri⁶ 'Amrat:⁶ "Tatkala Tuanku hendak membicarakan negeri ini diatas patiklah membawa Tuanku naik ke istana ini." Maka kata Raja Bambang: "Jikalau sungguh seperti kata orangkaya ini yang kasih orangkaya itu tahulah juga beta membalas dia."

- Hatta antara dua bulan Seri⁷ 'Amrat muafakat bicara dengan Raja Bambang itu. Maka adalah dua tiga orang pula pegawai yang jadi muafakat dengan Seri 'Amrat akan⁷ menyerta Raja Bambang itu.
- 37 Hatta pada suatu hari ketika fajar maka / pintu Kota Wang itu pun dibuka oranglah, maka Raja Bambang pun¹ naik gajah betina² bertimbal rengga dengan bundanya, lalu berjalan masuk kedalam Kota Wang diiringkan oleh Seri³ 'Amrat³ dengan segala pegawai yang muafakat itu. Setelah sampai ke balairung maka Raja Bambang pun riyak⁴ gajah di serambi rung itu, lalu turun dari gajah berjalan masuk ke istana; bundanya ditinggalkan diatas gajah. Arakian tatkala itu Sultan Patik Siam duduk bersama dengan Pera'cau. Setelah dilihat Pera'cau salah kelakuannya Raja Bambang itu maka Pera'cau pun segera menyambut Sultan Patik Siam itu diribanya dan dipeluknya. Maka kata Raja Bambang: "Letakkan saudaraku itu, jangan engkau riba." Maka kata Pera'cau: "Bunuhlah aku dahulu. Apabila aku sudah mati mana perintahmulah akan saudaramu ini." Syahdan maka Sultan Patik Siam pun ditikam oleh Raja Bambang didalam ribaan Pera'cau itulah.

Setelah sudah Sultan⁵ Patik Siam dua bersaudara itu mangkat,⁵ maka Raja Bambang pun keluar mendapatkan bundanya di balairung itu, lalu naik gajah berjalan keluar hendak pulang ke rumahnya. Setelah sampai antara langgar di hadapan Pintu Gajah itu maka Raja Bambang pun diradak⁶ oleh Seri 'Amrat⁶ dengan tombaknya kena lambungnya terus ke sebelah. Maka Raja Bambang pun jatuh dari atas gajahnya

⁵ A b-r-p-ng-w-s-a'n, B p-ng-w-a-s (context slightly different).

⁶⁻⁶ B mal'cun itu.

⁷⁻⁷ B lamanya maka fitnah dajal itu pun muafakat bicaralah dengan Raja Bambang ialah yang hendak.

37 ¹ B yang dungu akal itu pun ("who was dull-witted").

² A b-q-y-n, B betina yang bernama s-p-h p-t-r-y ("which was called Sepah Puteri").

³⁻³ B la'cnat Allah.

⁴ A r-y-q, B dari.

⁵⁻⁵ B dengan takdir Allah ta'ala dikehendaknya maka Peracau itu pun mati juga sebab terkena keduanya ("by the will of God the Peracau also died, because they were both hit").

⁶⁻⁶ B diradat naik oleh Seri Aman.

38 lalu ⁷ mati, dan bunda Raja Bambang pun mati diatas gajahnya ditikam
 oleh orang yang dibawah gajah itu.⁷ Arakian maka orang didalam negeri
 itu pun gemparlah mengatakan Raja Bambang merebut kerajaan / Sul-
 tan Patik Siam dan Raja Bambang pun sudah mati dibunuh oleh Seri ¹
 Amrat.¹

11.

Syahdan maka segala menteri pegawai pun semuanya berhimpun
 masuk kedalam Kota Wang. Arakian maka Sultan Bahdur pun dita-
 balkan oranglah dan raja-raja keempat itu dikuburkan orang pada
 langgar yang di sebelah matahari naik di tepi kampung Datuk Wang
 Kabudal ² itulah. Adapun Sultan Bahdur pada masa itu ada sepuluh
 tahun umurnya.

Hatta antara itu ada pula seorang ³ pegawai ³ Seri Amar Pahlawan
 namanya. Pada suatu hari maka Seri Amar Pahlawan pun pergi me-
 ngadap Raja Bima. Maka sembah Seri Amar Pahlawan: "Paduka adinda
 ini nama juga raja; barang perintah negeri suatu pun tiada dapat paduka
 adinda bicarakan karena paduka adinda belum [lam] lagi sampai budi
 bicara dan jikalau Tuanku menjadi raja dapatlah Tuanku memerintah-
 kan negeri ini." Maka kata Raja Bima: "Jangan orangkaya berkata
 demikian, tiada baik didengar orang." Maka kata Seri Amar Pahlawan:
 "Sembah ⁴ patik ini perinya juga dan jikalau ada musuh perang negeri
 ini melainkan setahu-tahu menteri hulubalang sahajalah membicarakan
 dia dan tiadalah ada bicara dari pada paduka adinda dan jikalau seperti
 Tuanku membicarakan segala menteri hulubalang; dan lagi pun penda-
 pat ⁴ patik sepatutnyalah Tuanku menggantikan kerajaan paduka adinda
 itu sementara paduka adinda itu tahu memerintah negeri." Maka kata

⁷⁻⁷ hai Tuhanku jauh (r. jauh?) oléhmü dan berlindunglah kita dari pada demikian
 itu Allah ("Oh, my Lord, keep us far from and protect us against such things").

38 ¹⁻¹ B celaka si neraka itu.

² A k-b-w-d-l; B lacks Wang, and has k-buw-w-ng.

³⁻³ B lagi fitnah dajal namanya penggawa. In this section again the abusive terms
 mentioned above (36.2) are used instead of, or added to, the name of Seri Amar
 Pahlawan.

⁴⁻⁴ Daulat Tuanku, patik ini y-p-r-ng-y (? beperi?) sahaja. Jikalau ada musuh atau
 suatu hal pekerjaan negerinya melainkan mana-mana setahu-tahu segala menteri
 hulubalang sahajalah yang empunya bicara akan dia, karena paduka adinda lagi
 kecil; jikalau umpamanya Tuanku bicarakan pada pikiran patik ("My Lord, I ...
 only. If there should be an enemy, or if certain circumstances should arise, then it
 would be the ministers and officers who would have to cope with them, according
 to whatever their abilities might be, because your brother is still small. If, however,
 my Lord would decide on the policy ... it would in my opinion").

Raja Bima: "Orangkaya seorang juga yang ⁵ berkata demikian itu dan segala menteri pegawai yang lain tiada bicara seperti orangkaya ini." ⁵
 39 Syahdan kemudian dari pada itu pun sebagaimana Seri / Amar Pahlawan itu mengadap Raja Bima menyembahkan pekerjaan ¹ itu.

Hatta berapa antaranya Sultan Bahdur diatas takhta kerajaan itu pada suatu hari ketika ngelincir matahari, maka Sultan Bahdur pun naik gajah bernama Seri Negeri itu, bermain-main didalam Kota Wang dan diiringkan oléh segala pengasuhnya; dan pada masa itu Seri Negeri itu ada tinggi empat hasta dan Sultan Bahdur pun memegang kosa duduk diatas kepala gajah itu. Maka gajah itu pun dihalau oléh Sultan Bahdur keluar Kota Wang dan Wan Jaharullah memegang telinga gajah sebelah kiri dan Alung In ² sebelah kanan, lalu berjalan menuju ke pintu gerbang.

Syahdan ada pula seékor gajah betina Jarum Pérak namanya, ada dengan rengganya. Setelah dilihat sultan berangkat keluar itu maka gembala gajah itu pun mengalau gajah itu mengiringkan sultan. Setelah sampai ke pintu ³ kampung Raja Bima itu maka Raja Bima pun pergi mengiringkan adinda baginda berangkat itu. Setelah dilihat oléh Wan Jaharullah Raja Bima berjalan maka Wan Jaharullah pun pergi mendapatkan Raja Bima. Maka kata Wan Jaharullah: "Baik juga Tuanku silakan naik gajah paduka adinda itu." Maka kata Raja Bima: "Baiklah." Maka gajah itu pun dipanggil oléh Wan Jaharullah dideramkan, maka Raja Bima pun naik mengiringkan adinda baginda. Arakian maka Sultan Bahdur pun sampailah ke Balai Empat. Maka sultan pun
 40 berhenti seketika lalu ia memandang / ke belakang dilihatnya Raja Bima naik Jarum Pérak itu. Maka titah sultan: "Siapa menyuruh Raja Bima naik gajah itu?" Maka sembah Wan Jaharullah: "Patik Tuanku." ¹
 Syahdan tatkala sultan berhenti itu sebelah kakinya diletakkan diatas bahu Alung In. Setelah sultan menengar sembah Wan Jaharullah itu maka titah sultan: "Gajah bapamukah maka engkau beri Raja Bima naik itu?" Lalu ditolaknya dengan kakinya bahu Wan Jaharullah itu

⁵⁻⁵ B masal(?) mulut yang berkata demikian dan sekalian menteri hulubalang yang lain adakah demikian itu? ("are the only one who says so; but would the other ministers and officers think that way?").

39 ¹ B adds: Yang khianat seperti syaitan ("as treacherous as the devil").

² This name is spelt and vocalized in different ways: Alung In, Alwang In, Alung An, Alwang An.

³ B adds: gerbang ke.

40 ¹ B adds: suruh paduka kakanda itu naik, patik lihat paduka itu berjalan mengiringkan Duli Tuanku, kalau-kalau dilihat oléh orang ("I requested your brother to mount, as I saw him accompanying Your Majesty on foot, and I was afraid that people might see it").

seraya bertitah: "Pergi halaukan Raja Bima itu turun."² Arakian maka Wan Jaharullah pun pergilah kepada Raja Bima, maka kata Wan Jaharullah:² "Tuanku, titah paduka adinda suruh turun Tuanku dari pada gajah ini." Setelah Raja Bima menengar kata Wan Jaharullah itu maka Raja Bima pun turunlah seraya menangis. Syahdan setelah sudah Raja Bima turun itu maka sultan pun naik gajah lalu kembali ke istana dan Raja Bima pun mengantarkan paduka adinda itu sampai ke pintu Wang lalu ia kembali ke rumahnya.

Hatta antara itu maka Seri Amar Pahlawan pun pergi pula mengadap Raja Bima. Maka Raja Bima pun berceteralah pada Seri Amar Pahlawan peri Sultan Bahdur menyuruh ia turun dari gajah itu seraya menangis. Maka³ Seri Amar Pahlawan pun terlalu belas hatinya melihat kelakuan Raja Bima itu.³ Maka sembah Seri Amar Pahlawan: "Apa yang Tuanku tangiskan? Patiklah cakap membawa Tuanku naik ke istana paduka adinda itu." Setelah Raja Bima menengar kata Seri Amar Pahlawan itu maka kata Raja Bima: "Baiklah, jikalau sungguh orang-
 41 kaya kasih [akan] / akan béta, tahu juga béta akan¹ kasih orangkaya itu." Maka sembah Seri Amar Pahlawan: "Apabila Tuanku hendak naik ke istana itu Tuanku nantilah biar sampai giliran patik kelak. Apabila dibuka orang pintu Wang itu biar patik keluar sambut Tuanku dan hendaklah Tuanku berhadhir menanti patik datang."

Arakian setelah datanglah kepada hari Jum^cat maka Seri Amar Pahlawan pun masuklah bertunggu di balairung. Syahdan tatkala sudah orang nobat subuh juga maka pintu Wang pun dibuka oranglah. Maka Seri Amar Pahlawan pun keluarlah menyambut Raja Bima. Tatkala itu Raja Bima pun sudah hadhir diatas gajahnya. Arakian maka Raja Bima pun berjalanlah masuk kedalam Kota Wang diiringkan oléh Seri Amar Pahlawan. Setelah sampai ke balairung maka Raja Bima pun turun dari gajah lalu berjalan masuk ke istana. Syahdan tatkala itu Sultan Bahdur baharu bangun dari pada beradu berdiri di pintu pengadapan keluar bermain. Maka Raja Bima pun sampai. Setelah dilihat oléh Raja Bima Sultan Bahdur berdiri di pintu itu maka Raja Bima pun mengunus kerisnya, lalu ditikamnya kena dada Sultan Bahdur terus ke belakangnya. Maka Sultan Bahdur pun rebah lalu mati. Setelah dilihat oléh Raja Bima paduka adinda mati itu, maka Raja Bima pun keluar ke balairung naik gajah berjalan hendak pulang. Setelah dilihat oléh Seri Amar Pahlawan kelakuan Raja Bima itu maka segera diturut oléh

²⁻² lacking in B, which has the following sentence twice.

³⁻³ lacking in B.

41 ¹ B membalas.

- 42 Seri Amar Pahlawan. Setelah sampai ke hadapan / balai gendang ¹ itu maka Raja Bima pun diradak oléh Seri Amar Pahlawan dengan lembingnya kena perutnya terus ke belikatnya. Maka Raja Bima pun rebah diatas gajahnya lalu mati. Syahdan orang pun gemparlah didalam negeri itu mengatakan Raja Bima merebut kerajaan Sultan Bahdur ² dan Raja Bima pun sudah mati dibunuh oléh Seri Amar Pahlawan.²

Maka menteri hulubalang pun masuklah berhimpun di balairung berbicara hendak merajakan ganti Sultan Bahdur itu. Syahdan adapun anak Marhum Bungsu tiadalah yang laki-lakinya lagi melainkan perempuan juga yang adanya itu. Maka Raja Ijaulah ditabalkan orang, itulah asal raja perempuan mulanya pada negeri Patani ini. Arakian maka mayat Sultan Bahdur dan Raja Bima pun dikuburkan oranglah pada langgar sebelah matahari naik [sekali itu] bersama-sama dengan raja-raja keempat itu. Bermula Raja Ijau diatas takhta kerajaan itu dipanggil orang Pera'cau ikut seperti nama Raja 'A'isyah itulah. Dan Wan Jaharullah pun dikaruniai nama bentara kiri dan Alung In bentara kanan dan Seri Agar Diraja dikaruniai nama Seri Raja Kelang.³

12.

- Antara berapa bulan Pera'cau kerajaan itu maka bendahara pun bermohon mudik ke Sai berjanji tiga hari juga hendak hilir. Maka bendahara pun mudik. Syahdan bendahara mudik itu datang kepada tujuh hari dan sepuluh hari itu pun tiada juga bendahara hilir. Hatta
- 43 / dengan demikian maka dipersembahkan orang pada kebawah duli Pera'cau mengatakan: "Bendahara itu duduk menghimpunkan segala menteri hulubalang dan ra'ayat hendak durhaka kebawah Duli Tuanku dan orang yang minum air kebal ¹ diatas Bukit Sai itu ada empat puluh yang tiada ² dimakan oléh ² senjata." Maka Pera'cau pun tersenyum menengar sembah orang itu suatu pun tiada apa titahnya. Khabar itu pun masyhurlah.

Hatta antara berapa hari maka bendahara pun hilirlah dengan ³ ra'ayatnya ada barang lima ribu. Arakian maka dipersembahkan orang mengatakan bendahara sudah sampai ke Tabih. Maka Pera'cau pun

42 ¹ A k-n-d-ng, B gading.

²⁻² lacking in B, which, however, adds a comment on the moral lesson which this story contains.

³ AB k-l-ng.

43 ¹ B adds: pekan (pakan?) kulit.

²⁻² B tahan bertikam dengan ("could stand stabbing").

³ B adds segala hulubalang pencurik (i. penjurit? see 45.2) ("all the officers and knights").

tunduk suatu pun tiada apa titahnya. Syahdan selang dua hari maka dipersembahkan orang pula mengatakan bendahara sudah sampai ke Takih.⁴ Pada masa itu seorang pun [tiada] segala menteri hulubalang <tiada>⁵ masuk bersembahkan barang pekerjaan bendahara itu kebawah duli Pera'cau. Setelah Pera'cau menengar sembah orang itu maka Pera'cau pun bertitah kepada bentara suruh memanggil Kelang. Maka bentara pun menyuruh hamba raja menjunjungkan titah Pera'cau itu kepada Kelang. Setelah sampai hamba raja itu maka segala titah itu pun dijunjungkan kepada Kelang. Maka kata Kelang: "Sembahkanlah kebawah duli Pera'cau, katakan patik itu empunya sembah kebawah duli harapkan ampun beribu-ribu ampun karena patik itu lagi demam tiada boléh mengadap." Arakian maka hamba raja itu pun kembali menyampaikan sembah Kelang itu kepada bentara. Maka bentara pun segera berdatang sembah kebawah duli Pera'cau seperti sembah Kelang / itu. Setelah Pera'cau menengar sembah bentara itu, maka titah Pera'cau: "Jangankan segala menteri pegawai yang lain pula akan mari, datangkan Kelang anak emas Paduka Marhum lagi béta panggil tiada mau datang." Arakian maka hamba raja itu pun bepersembahkan pula mengatakan bendahara sudah sampai ke ¹ Kedi. Dan pada masa itu seorang pun segala menteri hulubalang tiada di balairung dan yang ada di pengadapan itu hanyalah bentara kedua dan mahat biduanda dan segala hamba raja tapakan juga. Arakian maka disembahkan orang bendahara menyeberang jambatan.¹ Maka bendahara pun berhenti seketika menengar bunyi nobat palu-paluan pada waktu Jum'at itu. Setelah sudah maka bendahara pun berjalan masuklah. Hatta maka Pera'cau pun segera memakai baju hijau dan berseléndang mala-mala ² beremas warna kekuningan lalu berangkat keluar ke balairung. Bentara kedua memikul pedang berjalan dahulu dan dari belakang segala dayang³ itu ³ dan mahat biduanda hamba raja tapakan sekalian mengiringkan. Maka Pera'cau pun sampailah ke tangga rung itu, maka Pera'cau pun berdiri di bendul tangga itu dan bentara kedua pun turun berdiri kepada anak tangga yang dibawah sekali memikul pedang kiri kanan tangga itu. Maka mahat biduanda dan hamba raja sekalian itu pun turun duduk ke halaman balairung itu. Maka pada tatkala itu bendahara pun sudah

⁴ A Tabih.

⁵ B seems to have tiada in the correct place.

44 ¹⁻¹ B menyerang (r. menyeberang!) Jambatan Kedi. A has a mistake near the end of this passage, where it says: menyeberang bendahara jambatan. We have printed the correct word order.

² B malai-malai.

³⁻³ B dayang-dayang bi[n]ti isi istana sekalian.

masuk pintu Wang maka berjalan hendak naik ke balairung. Setelah bendahara ⁴ sampai ke hadapan tangga rung itu ⁴ maka Pera'cau pun
 45 mengambil / seléndang pada tubuhnya, maka dilémparkannya kepada bendahara, maka segera disambut oléh bendahara, dibelitkannya pada kepalanya. Setelah sudah bendahara memakai serban itu, maka bendahara pun mengunus keris dari pinggangnya diletakkan ke tanah. Maka ¹ bendahara pun bertelut ¹ di bumi menjunjung duli Pera'cau tiga kali berturut-turut. Syahdan tatkala bendahara bangkit dari pada menjunjung duli itu, maka bendahara pun menyembah pula seraya bertitah: "Daulat Tuanku bertambah-tambah daulat sa'adat Duli Tuanku diatas takhta kerajaan yang mahamulia." Maka bendahara pun menyembah pula, lalu berjalan kembali berhenti di Takih. Dan Pera'cau pun berangkat masuk ke istana.

Arakian pada malam itu semuanya segala menteri hulubalang ² Sai berhimpun mengadap bendahara dengan takutnya. Maka sembah segala meréka itu: "Bagaimana Tuanku perbuat yang demikian? Habislah hamba ³ Tuanku sekalian ini ditumpas ⁴ orang dan anak yang dalam perut ibunya pun tiadakan dihidupnya." ³ Maka bendahara pun tertawa menengar kata segala meréka itu. Maka kata bendahara: "Jangan tuan-tuan sekalian takut; 'adat segala raja-raja tiada mengubahkan barang yang sudah dititahkan itu." Maka sembah sekalian meréka itu: "Pada masa itu tiada hamba Tuanku ⁵ lihat bentara menjunjungkan titah Pera'cau kepada Tuanku." Maka kata bendahara: "Karena sudah Pera'cau minta nyawa kepada béta." Maka sembah segala meréka itu: "Pada masa mana Pera'cau minta nyawa kepada Tuanku itu?" Arakian
 46 maka bendahara pun suka tertawa melihat segala menteri hulubalang itu sangat takut. Maka bendahara pun mengambil serban dari kepalanya serta katanya: "Inilah tanda Pera'cau itu minta / nyawa kepada béta; masakan béta semu tuan-tuan sekalian?" Maka segala meréka itu pun baharulah suka hatinya menengar sabda bendahara itu.

Setelah keésokan harinya maka bendahara pun mudik ke Sai tiadalah

⁴⁻⁴ Peracau terpandang kepada bendahara ("When the queen caught sight of the bendahara").

45 ¹⁻¹ seraya terletak.

² B adds: penggawa penjurit (see 43.3; or pencurat, see p. 82.42; B has here p-n-j-w-r-t).

³⁻³ mati hamba datuk sekalian dibunuh orang, anak didalam perut ibu pun dialah (? dinyalah?) dibuang tiadakan ditaruh lagi ("We shall all be killed, even infants in their mothers' wombs will be done away with and will not be spared").

⁴ d-t-m-p-a-s.

⁵ B datuk dang dan (?).

hilir lagi. Dan ¹ Pera'cau [dan] dima'zulkan pun tiada dan <bendahara> dipanggil hilir pun tiada.¹ Dan bendahara itulah dipanggil orang Bendahara Kayu ² Kelat.³

13.

Syahdan adapun segala pekerjaan Seri Amar Pahlawan dengan Raja Bima itu semuanya diketahui oleh Pera'cau. Arakian pada suatu hari Pera'cau pun semayam di pengadapan perempuan. Maka Pera'cau pun bertitah kepada bentara suruh panggil Khatib 'Abduljabar. Maka hamba raja pun pergilah memanggil Khatib 'Abduljabar. Setelah khatib datang mengadap maka titah Pera'cau: "Kita panggil khatib ini, ada kita hendak pinta kepada khatib." Maka sembah khatib: "Daulat Tuanku, patik hamba yang hina dibawah Duli Yang Mahamulia, barang yang ada kepada patik akan persembah dibawah Duli Yang Mahamulia." Arakian maka Pera'cau pun berangkat masuk dan khatib pun bermohon pulang.

Syahdan antara tiga hari maka khatib pun dipanggil pula. Setelah khatib datang maka titah Pera'cau kepada khatib demikian juga. Maka sembah khatib: "Patik hamba yang hina dibawah Duli, masakan dapat patik melalui titah Duli Yang Mahamulia; jikalau otak didalam kepala patik sekalipun patik persembah dibawah Duli Yang Mahamulia." Syahdan maka Pera'cau pun diam lalu berangkat masuk. Maka khatib pun bermohon pulang.

47 / Hatta antara ada lima hari khatib pun dipanggil pula dan orang di pengadapan pun sunyi, ada enam tujuh orang juga pada masa itu. Arakian maka khatib pun datang mengadap Pera'cau. Maka titah Pera'cau demikian juga kepada khatib. Maka sembah khatib: "Daulat Tuanku patik harapkan ampun beribu-ribu ampun, patik ¹ ini hamba yang hina menjunjungkan ayapan dibawah cerpu Duli Yang Mahamulia pagi dan petang, jangankan daging darah patik Tuanku kehendaki, nyawa patik sekalipun patik persembahkan dibawah Duli Yang Mahamulia." Setelah Pera'cau menengar sembah khatib itu maka titah Pera'cau: "Itulah yang kita kehendaki pun." Syahdan setelah khatib menengar titah Pera'cau itu maka khatib pun menyembah lalu bertelut

46 ¹⁻¹ A has been amended on the strength of B, which, however, has a more elaborate sentence: Maka Peracau itu pun tiadalah jadi dima'zulkan oleh bendahara dan bendahara itu pun tiadalah dipanggil hilir.

² B k-b-w.

³ A k-l-t, B k-l-b.

47 ¹⁻¹ mana-mana yang dititah oleh Tuanku patik kerjakan ("Whatever Your Majesty orders I shall carry out").

menjunjung duli: "Yang nyawa patik ini persembah patiklah kebawah Duli Yang Mahamulia." ¹ Maka titah Pera'cau: "Jikalau sungguh seperti sembah khatib ini, hendaklah khatib tikam Seri Amar Pahlawan itu diatas balairung kita ini, tetapi jangan dikatakan dengan suruh kita." Maka sembah khatib: "Daulat Tuanku mana titah patik junjung." Arakian maka Pera'cau pun berangkat masuk dan khatib pun bermohon pulang.

Hatta setelah datang kepada hari Jum'at segala orangkaya-kaya yang bertunggu itu pun ada enam tujuh orang duduk di balairung itu dan Seri Amar Pahlawan pun ada. Arakian maka Khatib 'Abduljabar pun datanglah berjalan di tepi ² balai itu seperti orang yang tiada tahu akan tertib raja-raja lakunya. Maka segala yang duduk / itu pun semuanya memandang kepada khatib. Setelah ia hampir kepada Seri Amar Pahlawan maka khatib pun mengunus keris réncongnya didalam bajunya lalu ditikamnya pada Seri Amar Pahlawan kena perutnya berhamburan keluar. Maka Seri Amar Pahlawan pun rebah lalu mati. Maka Khatib 'Abduljabar pun terdiri dengan réncongnya ditengah balairung itu. ¹ Syahdan tatkala itu Raja Megat ² yang duduk dekat Seri Amar Pahlawan itu, maka diisyaratkan oléh Raja Megat dengan matanya suruh khatib itu turun itu pun tiada juga khatib mau bergerak dari pada tempatnya berdiri itu. Maka Raja Megat pun mengunus keris panjangnya lalu ditetaknya, ³ kena perut Khatib 'Abduljabar itu putus. Maka khatib pun rebah lalu mati. Maka orang pun gemparlah. Arakian maka titah Pera'cau: "Apa ⁴ yang bunyi gempar diluar itu?" Maka sembah orang itu: "Khatib 'Abduljabar mengamuk diatas balairung." Maka titah Pera'cau: ⁴ "Siapa yang ditikamnya itu?" Maka sembah orang itu: "Seri Amar Pahlawan Tuanku, ditikamnya sudah mati dan khatib pun mati juga, dibunuh oléh Raja Megat." Maka titah Pera'cau: "Tarik buangkan mayat khatib itu ke pintu gerbang." Arakian maka mayat khatib pun ditarik oranglah ditengah pesara ⁵ itu. Setelah sampai berbetulan dengan mesjid maka bilal pun bang ⁶ khatib ⁶ diatas mimbar. Maka mayat itu pun tiada mau bergerak ditarik. Maka dikuatinya oléh orang yang menarik mayat itu, maka tali yang diikat pada léhér mayat itu pun putus dan dibubuh orang tali yang lain pula. Arakian

² B tengah.

48 ¹ B tercengang lakunya ("stupefied").

² B regularly spells this name m-ng-g-(or k)-w-t-a (Mangkota?).

³ A d-p-q-t-ny, B ditikam.

⁴⁻⁵ lacking in B.

⁵ B pasar.

⁶⁻⁶ B banglah dan khatib mesjid pun naiklah ("made the call, and the preacher went up").

49 maka orang ⁷ bang ⁷ itu pun sudahlah. Maka baharu mayat itu bergerak ditarik, maka mayat itu pun dibuangkan / oranglah diluar pintu gerbang itu. Antara berapa hari maka mayat itu pun dicuri orang ditanamkan dengan isyarat Pera'cau juga.

14.

Syahdan antara berapa lama Pera'cau diatas takhta kerajaan pada suatu hari Pera'cau pun berbicara dengan segala menteri hulubalang hendak menawarkan air sungai Jambatan Kedi itu. Maka sembah segala menteri pegawai sekalian: "Daulat Tuanku, jikalau hendak tawar air parit ini melainkan digali sungai dari Tambangan terus kemari. Apabila turunlah air hulu itu kemari maka tawarlah air parit ini." Maka titah Pera'cau: "Jikalau demikian pergilah Seri Maharaja Wang dengan Temenggung Paduka Seri Rama mudik melihat mana patut tempat yang digali itu; kerahkan ra'cyat, suruh gali didalam sehari dua inilah." ¹ Arakian maka sungai itu pun digali oranglah. Setelah sampai antara Rayau ² maka Datuk Wang dan Datuk Temenggung pun menyuruh bentara hilir menyembahkan Pera'cau sungai yang digali ini sehari lagi juga sampailah ke Tambangan.³ Syahdan maka bentara pun hilirlah menyembahkan Pera'cau. Setelah Pera'cau menengar sembah bentara itu maka titah Pera'cau: "Hai bentara, pergi beritahu akan bendahara aku hendak mudik sendiri menembuskan sungai itu." Arakian maka bendahara pun menyuruhkan berkerah segala menteri pegawai sekalian. Setelah berhimpun kesemuanya maka Pera'cau pun berangkatlah diiringkan oleh bendahara dengan segala menteri pegawai sekalian mudik ke Tambangan. Setelah keésokan harinya maka sungai itu pun ditembuskan

⁷⁻⁷ A orang yang, B b-y-a (r. bilal).

49 ¹ B adds: Arakian maka menteri kedua yang dititahkan itu pun bermohon lalu mudik pergi melihat pada tempat yang dikehendaknya hendak gali. Maka didalam itu disuruh canangkan oranglah, disuruh kerahkan sekalian ra'cyat menggali sungai karena titah Peracau ("Then the two officers who had been given the order took leave and went upstream in order to inspect the place where the digging should be done. And they ordered the people to be summoned in order to dig the canal, as this was the royal command").

² A sic (vocalized), B Bau (vocalized).

³ B adds: Syahdan adapun menggali itu pun tiada masuk ra'cyat anak sungai dan ra'cyat hulu, sekedar ra'cyat tengah ini sahaja pun padahal hingga sampai akan Berdung ("As for those who did the digging, the people from the tributary streams and from the interior did not take part in it; the people from the central districts alone, as far as Berdung, were sufficient").

oranglah. Setelah ⁴ sudah sungai itu turun air hulu terbit sampai lalu ke Kuala Aru.⁴ Maka Pera'cau pun berangkat hilir lalu ⁵ ke istana.⁵

Setelah berapa lama Pera'cau diatas takhta kerajaan maka Pera'cau
50 / pun gering, lalu mangkat. Maka segala ra'cyat didalam negeri Patani itu semuanya laki-laki disuruh bercukur dan segala perempuan bergunting hujung rambutnya.

Demi dari karena itulah maka Raja Ijau itu dipanggil orang Marhum Tambangan. Dan Sultan Mudhaffar Syah itu sebab mangkat di Siam maka dipanggil orang Marhum Ke Siam, dan sultan Manzur Syah itu sebab putera bungsu [maka dipanggil] maka dipanggil orang Marhum Bungsu.

15.

Arakian maka Raja Biru ditabalkan orang. Syahdan tatkala Raja Biru diatas takhta kerajaan itu bentara kiri dijadikan Kun,¹ bentara kanan dijadikan Temenggung Seri Paduka Tuan. Antara selang dua tiga tahun Pera'cau diatas takhta kerajaan maka Sungai Tambangan yang digali lalu ² turun ke Jambatan Kedi itu pun dimakan oleh air terlalu deras menikam tebing dihadapan [m-m-p-lnya] Pintu Gajah itu.² Maka titah Pera'cau kepada bendahara suruh angkat batu dari hulu Kuala ³ Kuruk ³ muatkan di rakit bawa hilir timbunkan kepada Kuala Tambangan yang digali itu supaya airnya jangan menikam kaki kota.

Syahdan maka khabar Raja Pahang pun sudah mati maka Pera'cau pun menyuruhkan laksamana dengan pegawai hulubalang berengkap pergi menyambut adinda baginda yang di Pahang itu. Setelah sudah lengkap maka laksamana pun masuk persembahkan Pera'cau, lalu bermohon turun ke perahu dan surat pun diarak orang turun ke perahu.

⁴⁻⁴ B seketika turunkah air sungai hulu menderu bunyinya terlalu riuh ("immediately the river water from upstream rushed down with an extremely loud roar").

⁵⁻⁵ B dengan segala anak bini menteri penggawa hulubalang ra'cyat sekalian, terlalulah sukanya berlari-larian pergi mari masing-masing dengan kesukarannya tiadalah terhingga lagi didalam negeri Patani dengan sekalian bunyi-bunyian sehari-hari. Demikianlah diceterakan oleh orang yang empunya ceteranya ("with all the ministers' and officers' wives and children and all of the people. They were extremely joyful, all running to and fro, everyone amusing themselves in their own way; there was no end to the fun in Patani, with all the music playing all day. Such is the story as it is told by the man who possesses it").

50 ¹ A k-w-n, B gelar Kawna (vocalized).

²⁻² B oleh Marhum itu terlalulah sangat deras airnya turun ke Jambatan Kedi menikam tembing hadapan Pintu Gajah itu ("... by the late Queen had such a strong current down to J. K. as to undermine the bank in front of the Elephant Gate").

³⁻³ lacking in B.

51 Setelah sudah laksamana menerima surat itu maka laksamana dengan segala hulubalang / yang dititahkan itu pun berlayarlah. Antara berapa hari di laut maka laksamana pun sampailah ke Pahang. Maka surat dan bingkisan itu pun disambut oranglah diarak masuk. Setelah sudah dibaca surat itu, maka Raja Ungu pun bersimpanlah lalu turun ke perahu dan segala orang Pahang yang kasih akan Raja Ungu itu semuanya mengikut Raja Ungu ke Patani; dan ¹ barang yang ada silsilah orang Pahang sekarang ini orang yang mengikut Raja Ungu itulah asal moyangnya.¹ Arakian maka Raja Ungu pun sampailah lalu disambut oleh Pera'cau naik ke istana.

Hatta berapa lamanya Pera'cau diatas takhta kerajaan itu maka Pera'cau pun gering lalu mangkat dan Raja Ungulah ditabalkan oleh orang pula. Arakian maka mayat Pera'cau pun dikuburkan oranglah dan Raja Biru dipanggil orang Marhum Tengah dan ² Marhum Tengah ini banyak yang tiada tahu, sebab itulah maka tiada tersebut.² Adapun Raja Ungu menjadi raja itu menamai dirinya Paduka Syah 'Alam, tiada diberinya orang panggil Pera'cau.

16.

Sebermula adapun Raja Kuning itu pada masa Marhum Tengah diatas takhta kerajaan dipinang oleh Apya' Déca'.³ Maka ⁴ Raja Kuning pun dipersuamikan oleh Marhum Tengah dengan Apya' Déca'. Maka 'umur Raja Kuning pun pada masa itu baharu duabelas tahun. Syahdan tatkala Paduka Syah 'Alam atas kerajaan itu maka Apya' Déca' pun bermohon masuk ke Siam kepada Paduka Syah 'Alam. Hatta antara

51 ¹⁻¹ B itulah asalnya orang Pahang didalam negeri Patani nénék moyangnya ("That is where the ancestors of the people of Pahang in Patani had their origin").

²⁻² B sebab putera yang tengah ("because she was the middle daughter").

³ In A this name is spelt differently throughout this fragment: p and q as well as c and j alternate with each other, and hamzahs are either spelt irregularly or left out; so we find: a-q-y-a' and a-p-y-a', d-y-c-a' and d-y-j-a', as well as the same spellings without the '. B always has p and j, and consistently adds a d: Déjada!

⁴⁻⁴ B Dan adalah 'umur adinda baginda itu Raja Kuning baharu duabelas tahun dan belum lagi pandai membawa lakunya. Syahdan tatkala Paduka Syah 'Alam diatas takhta kerajaan maka dipersuamikanlah dengan Apya' Dicada. Maka Apya' Dicada pun bermohon kepada Paduka Syah 'Alam lalu masuk ke benua Siam. Sebermula maka tersebutlah perkataan Yang Dipertuan datanglah meminang Raja Kuning itu. Syahdan antara berapa lamanya maka Yang Dipertuan Johor berlayar itu pun sampailah ("And the younger sister of the queen was only twelve years old, and she did not yet know how to behave properly. When P. S. 'A. was on the throne she married Raja Kuning to A. D. A. D. then begged leave of the queen and returned to Siam. Now follows the story of the sultan of Johore's coming to Patani to ask R. K. in marriage. After sailing for some time he arrived in Sai").

tiga tahun peninggalan Apya' Déca' pergi ke Siam itu maka Yang Dipertuan Besar Raja Johor pun datang meminang Raja Kuning itu. Syahdan setelah Yang Dipertuan sampai ⁴ ke Sai maka Yang Dipertuan Besar pun berhenti di Sai. Arakian maka titah Yang Dipertuan kepada
 52 segala menteri hulubalang: "Apa baik kita jadikan persembah / kepada Paduka Syah 'Alam itu?" Maka segala meréka itu pun berdatang sembahlah masing-masing dengan pendapatnya. Dengan demikian seorang pun tiada berkenan kepada hati Yang Dipertuan. Arakian Yang Dipertuan menyuruhkan Seri ¹ Saroja dengan <Tun> Atma ¹ mengadap Paduka Syah 'Alam menyembahkan Yang Dipertuan hendak mengadap itu. Maka Seri Saroja pun berlayarlah.

Setelah sampai ke Patani maka Seri Saroja dan Tun Atma pun dibawa oléh bendahara mengadap Paduka Syah 'Alam. Setelah datang ke pengadapan segala menteri hulubalang mahat biduanda pun semuanya ada mengadap hadir di balairung. Arakian maka Paduka Syah 'Alam pun berangkat ke pintu pengadapan. Maka Seri Saroja dan Tun Atma pun menjunjung duli. Maka sirih pun dibawa oranglah. Setelah sudah maka sembah Seri Saroja: "Daulat Tuanku, sembah paduka adinda kebawah Duli Yang Mahamulia: adapun paduka adinda datang dari Johor hendak mengadap Paduka Syah 'Alam, ini nadzar ² paduka adinda: jikalau setapak kadam sekalipun paduka adinda hendak mengiringkan Duli Pad. ka Syah 'Alam." Maka Paduka Syah 'Alam pun tersenyum menengar sembah Seri Saroja. Maka titah Paduka Syah 'Alam: "Yang nadzar anak ³ kita itu ³ masakan kita tiada sampaikan?" Arakian maka sembah Seri Saroja: "Melainkan ampun Paduka Syah 'Alam juga akan paduka anakanda ⁴ itu; selama di laut berapa patik sekalian ajar menyembah pun tiada juga paduka anakanda ⁵ itu tahu menyembah." Maka titah Paduka Syah 'Alam: "Jikalau anak ⁶ kita ⁶ tiada menyembah kita masakan tiada yang lain menyembah kita?" Arakian ⁷ maka titah Paduka Syah 'Alam: "Katakan salam kita pada
 53 anak kita [hendaklah] / hendaklah anak kita segera datang." ¹ Arakian maka Seri Saroja dan Tun Atma pun bermohonlah lalu turun ke perahu berlayar. Setelah sampai ke Sai lalu mengadap Yang Dipertuan, maka

52 ¹⁻¹ B Tun Seri Diraja dan Tun Utama (always spelt this way! A spells it Atma).

² A tanda'.

³⁻³ B Yang Dipertuan Johor itu.

⁴ B adinda.

⁵ B adinda.

⁶⁻⁶ B Yang Dipertuan Johor.

⁷⁻¹ (p. 53) B Jikalau demikian segeralah orangkaya pergi menyambut Y.D.J. biarlah datang dengan segera akan Patani ini ("Therefore you should go quickly and invite the sultan to come to Patani immediately").

segala titah Syah 'Alam itu semuanya dipersembahkan kepada Yang Dipertuan. Dan Paduka Syah 'Alam pun menyuruhkan Raja Megat dan Seri Maharaja Léla² menyambut Yang Dipertuan itu dan membawa makan-makanan dan sirih pinang. Setelah Seri Maharaja Léla dan Raja Megat sampai lalu naik ke perahu kenaikan mengadap Yang Dipertuan persembahkan segala makan-makanan itu dan menyampaikan pesan Paduka Syah 'Alam itu.

Adapun peninggal Seri Saroja itu maka titah Syah 'Alam: "Lihatlah Raja Johor, ia hendak suruh kita menyambut dia itu ia mengatakan nadzar hendak mengiringkan kita." Maka sembah segala menteri: "Daulat Tuanku, sebenar seperti titah Duli Syah 'Alam itu, karena orang Johor itu barang bagaimana pun ia hendak membesarkan dirinya juga." Maka Paduka Syah 'Alam pun berangkat masuk. Maka segala menteri <hulubalang ra'yat pun semuanya masing-masing kembali ke rumahnya. Bermula maka Yang Dipertuan Johor>³ pun berlayarlah. Setelah sampai ke⁴ Berawas maka tiadalah diberi palu gendang nobat itu. Maka titah Yang Dipertuan kepada orangkaya⁵ Seri Maharaja Léla:⁶ "Inilah⁶ persembah kita kepada bunda kita." Dan selama Yang Dipertuan duduk di Patani itu tiadalah Yang Dipertuan tabal; dan disuruh oléh Paduka Syah 'Alam tabal pun tiada ia mau. Demikianlah yang dihikeyatkan oléh orang tua-tua.

Setelah sampai ke Tanjung⁶ maka perahu kenaikan itu pun disuruh masuk Kuala⁷ Ru.⁷ Setelah keésokan harinya maka Yang Dipertuan naik mengadap Syah 'Alam disuruh sambut dengan gajah oléh Syah 'Alam dan Syah 'Alam pun naik gajah berangkat keluar Kota Wang.

54 Setelah sampai ke balai gendang⁸ maka Yang Dipertuan pun / datanglah.¹ Setelah Yang Dipertuan melihat kenaikan Syah 'Alam itu maka Yang Dipertuan segera turun dari gajahnya mengiringkan Syah 'Alam naik ke balairung. Dan setelah selesailah dari pada Syah 'Alam menjamu Yang Dipertuan dengan segala menteri hulubalangnya, setelah sudah maka Yang Dipertuan pun bermohon hendak turun ke perahu. Maka

53 ² B lacks léla.

³ insertion from B.

⁴ B adds Kuala.

⁵⁻⁶ B Raja Mangkota dan Seri Maharaja.

⁶⁻⁶ B disuruh pergi dahulu persembahkan kepada Paduka Syah 'Alam. Maka orangkaya yang kedua itu pun kembali dipersembahkan seperti yang dipesan oléh Y. D. itu dibawah Duli P. S. <A. Seketika lagi Y. D. pun sampailah ke bandar Patani ("ordering them to go first and report to the Queen. The two gentlemen then returned and reported to the Queen in accordance with the sultan's request. Shortly afterwards the sultan arrived at the harbour of Patani").

⁷⁻⁷ B k-k-w-a-r-a.

⁸ B gading.

54 ¹ B naik gajah lalu berjalan ("mounted an elephant and proceeded").

tiada diberi oléh Syah 'Alam duduk di perahu dan ² disuruh duduk di rumah di kaki Jambatan Kedi itu.² Maka Yang Dipertuan pun tiadalah turun ke perahu lagi dan segala perwiranya ³ semuanya ³ pun berhimpun di Jambatan itu.

Hatta antara berapa bulan maka Raja Kuning pun dipersuamikan oléh Syah 'Alam dengan Yang Dipertuan Johor.⁴

17.

Arakian maka khabar itu pun dipersembahkan orang kepada Apya' Déca'. Maka Apya' Déca' pun terlalu amarah lalu pergi minta tolong kepada Bakelang menyembahkan Beracau hendak menyerang Patani. Arakian maka Apya' Déca' pun dibawa Bakelang masuk mengadap Beracau. Syahdan maka Bakelang pun berdatang sembah kepada Beracau seperti kehendak Apya' Déca' itu. Maka Beracau pun memberi titah kepada Bakelang suruh berengkap ra'cyat dan senjata dan apya' op'ra' dan segala akun awamin ⁵ mengantarkan Apya' Déca' ke Patani. Dan suatu ⁶ cetera ra'cyat Siam itu sekati ⁷ banyaknya dan suatu kaul pula delapan laksa.⁶ Syahdan pada masa itu Siam belum lagi tahu berperahu di laut, jikalau berapa banyak pun berjalan itulah.⁸

55 Hatta antara berapa lamanya berjalan itu maka Apya' Déca' pun sampailah ke Kayu Kelat.⁹ / Maka dipersembahkan orang kepada Paduka Syah 'Alam. Adapun masa itu kota ¹ di Kelampang ² itu ada tengah sén yang belum sudah lagi. Maka Temenggung Seri Paduka Tuan pun naik gajah yang bernama Jarum Pérak itu pergi ke Kelampang;

²⁻² B diberi tempat rumah Jambatan.

³⁻³ B perahu yang banyak itu ("the many ships").

⁴ B adds: Maka duduklah Y. D. sehari-hari didalam negeri Patani senantiasa dengan kesukaannya, malam siang dengan tempik soraknya tarinya dan sekalian bunyi-bunyan. Maka bertambahlah masyhurlah negeri terlebih dari pada yang dahulunya. Demikianlah yang diceterakan oléh orang yang empunya ceteranya. Sebermula khabaran itu pun kedengaranlah kepada negeri yang asing-asing mengatakan Raja Johor peristerikan Raja Kuning ("And the sultan lived in Patani, amusing himself day and night, with noisy dancing parties and musical performances. And Patani became even more famous than it had been before... Now the news spread to all the foreign countries that the king of Johore had married Raja Kuning").

⁵ A a-w-k-n a-m-b-w-n, B does not use Siamese words here.

⁶⁻⁶ B bawa beri sampai seganti (r. sekati!) dan suatu kata lapan laksa banyak ra'cyat ("and he let him take as many as 100,000 men, and according to another story 80,000").

⁷ A sekati.

⁸ B adds a cliché description of a marching army.

⁹ B Kelit or Kelebat.

55 ¹⁻¹ B has a different wording of this passage.

² AB k-l-m-p-ng.

disuruhnya angkat segala pagar orang itu dibubuhnya pada kota yang tiada sudah itu, ada sepuluh lapis, dan bedil besar-besar pun terlalu banyak diaturnya hingga sedepa juga jarangnya.¹ Arakian maka segala ra^cyat Siam pun datanglah hendak menyerang pada ³ kota yang belum sudah itu, ada yang sudah turun setengah mengarang parit Kelampang itu, maka dibedil oléh orang Patani, terlalu banyak mati segala ra^cyat Siam itu, tiada dapat dikira-kira lagi matinya dan beberapa dihalau oléh segala pahlawan Siam itu pun tiada dapat juga segala ra^cyatnya itu hendak menyeberang. Hatta maka segala Siam itu pun undur ke padang berhimpun dimuka lorong Malim Aji.

Bermula akan Temenggung Seri Paduka Tuan itu dilarikannya gajah yang bernama Jarum Pérak itu di Kersik lalu ke laut dan ⁴ dari Kersik itu pun tetaknya ⁵ beri berteriak gajah itu dan sampai ke pintu gerbang itu pun ditetaknya ⁶ gajah itu beri berteriak dan sampai kepada Puma ⁷ sebelah laut itu pun ditetaknya ⁸ pula gajah itu beri teriak,⁴ demikianlah kerjanya. Maka jadi tiadalah berputusan bunyi gajah sepanjang kota itu.

56 Maka Paduka Syah ^cAlam pun berangkat ke pintu gerbang diiringkan oléh Yang Dipertuan dan segala menteri hulubalang / sekalian. Setelah sampai ke pintu gerbang maka sembah Yang ¹ Dipertuan:¹ "Jikalau ada karunia paduka bunda biarlah patik keluar, karena yang dikehendaki oléh Apya' Déca' itu patik; biarlah patik berjuang gajah dengan dia." Maka titah Syah ^cAlam: "Keluarlah tuan, mak serahkan tuan kepada Allah ta^cala."

Arakian maka pintu gerbang pun dibuka oranglah, maka Yang Diper-tuan pun keluarlah. Setelah datang keluar maka gajah itu pun ditetak ² oléh Yang Dipertuan dilarikannya dan segala ra^cyat menteri hulubalang Johor pun berlarianlah mengikut Yang Dipertuan itu. Setelah dilihat oléh segala hulubalang ra^cyat Patani kelakuan Yang Dipertuan itu maka sembah segala meréka itu: "Daulat ³ Tuanku, bagaimana maka Duli

³ B parit.

⁴⁻¹ B lalu kepada Pung. Maka apabila sampai kepada suatu tempat ditetaknya gajahnya seraya berteriak ("and from there to Pung; and when he came to a certain place he slashed at the elephant and shouted").

⁵ A d-n-t-ng-ny.

⁶ A d-t-n-t-ng-ny.

⁷ A p-w-m.

⁸ A ditentangny.

56 ¹⁻¹ B sekalian Johor ("all the people of Johore").

² A d-n-t-q, B ditetakkan.

³⁻³ B Ampun Tuanku beribu-ribu ampun, adapun Y.D. itu masuk perang baik masa yang baik, jikalau ada suatu halnya peri kecelakaan Y.D. itu ("We beg you thousands of pardons; as for the Sultan taking part in the battle, that would be fine at the proper moment; but if some accident should befall the Sultan ...").

Syah ^{Am} melepaskan paduka anakanda itu keluar? Ada berapa sudah orang ~~menteri~~ hulubalang Duli Syah 'Alam mati atau luka dan binasa perang sekali dari pada Siam itu, maka Duli Syah 'Alam melepaskan anakanda itu keluar. Baik pada masa baiknya tia <da> suatu ⁴ pesi; lalu ada suatu kecelakaan ⁵ paduka anakanda itu, ³ apatah nama ~~Si~~ Syah 'Alam pada segala negeri yang asing-asing? Dan patik ~~selagi~~ tiada berguna menjadi hamba dibawah Duli Syah 'Alam." Setelah paduka Syah 'Alam menengar sembah segala menteri hulubalang itu ~~ma~~ titah Paduka Syah 'Alam kepada bentara: "Pergi engkau ~~balikan~~ anak raja itu."

Arakian maka bentara pun pergilah menjunjungkan titah kepada Yang ~~Bertuan~~, maka sembahnya: "Ya Tuanku, titah paduka bunda ~~silakan~~ kembali dahulu hari ini." Arakian maka Yang Dipertuan kembali ~~ilah~~ ⁵⁷ ~~ilah~~ dalam kota. Setelah Yang Dipertuan sudah masuk maka Paduka Syah 'Alam membawa Yang Dipertuan kembali duduk di ~~bahing~~. Dan ¹ lain daripada hari itu juga ~~janganlah~~ menteri hulubalang Johor dan segala ra'ayat Johor pun tiada diberinya keluar perang ~~seorang~~ ¹ lagi. Arakian maka segala menteri hulubalang dan ~~pat~~ Patani pun keluarlah perang dengan segala Siam itu. ² Dengan ~~long~~ Allah ta'ala perang segala Siam itu pun tiadalah menang lagi. ³ ~~ngat~~ kelaparannya. ⁴

Harung demikian tujuh hari juga Apya' Déca' duduk di Patani itu, ~~ma~~ segala hulubalang Siam pun kembalilah dengan sebab ~~kela-~~ ~~paran~~ segala ra'ayatnya itu, dari karena pada masa itu banyak ⁶ orang Patani masuk makan nasi bersama-sama dengan Siam itu tiada dilihatnya. ⁶ Karena Siam pada masa itu tiada ia tahu berperahu di laut,

⁴ A t-y-a'-w-a-t.

⁵ A k-c-l-a'-n.

⁵⁷ ¹⁻¹ B ~~Si~~ paduka Syah 'Alam bertitah: Pada hari yang lain janganlah segala menteri hulubalang Johor masuk perang lagi seorang jua pun, biarlah pihak orang Patani berperang dengan Siam itu berapa kadar. Dengan sa'at Apya' Dicada itu ~~dan~~ menyerang Patani ("The Queen gave the order: Do not let one Johore ~~off~~ part in the war in the coming days; let the people from Patani fight this battle ~~with~~ the Siamese themselves, according to their abilities. When A. D. came ~~again~~ attack Patani...").

² B ~~ada~~ adalah mundur itu lagi perangnya itu ("and they no longer withdrew during fighting").

³ B ~~ada~~ segala Siam itu. Syahdan Siam pun.

⁴ B t-r-l-a'-n.

⁵ B k-l-m-p-r-a-n.

^{a-6} B ra'ayatani pun pergi masuk kedalam ra'ayat Siam makan bersama-sama dengan Siam ~~ma~~ tiada dilihat oleh Siam itulah yang jadi sangat lapar ("many of the people Patani went and mixed with the Siamese, eating together with them; and as the Siamese did not notice them, their hunger increased").

58 itulah maka tiada dapat membawa bekal sehingga sebanyak digéndong-nya itulah sahaja. Maka pada zaman Apra' ⁷ Caya ⁷ nénék ⁸ bentara ⁸ Tuk Fakih ⁹ dan Raja Ayu ¹⁰ dan Alung Perisya ¹¹ inilah yang mengajar Siam itu berperahu di laut. Maka musuh itulah orang tua-tua karena ¹² zaman mu<suh> Siam Apya' Déca'lah asalnya yang membawa Siam ke Patani ini. Dan segala rumah yang di padang ¹³ di hadapan pintu gerbang lalu Gujirat Jawa sampai ke seberang Sungai Pandan ¹⁴ itu pun zaman itulah habisnya, dan segala ra^cyat yang di padang ¹⁵ matinya itu dibawa tanam ke seberang; ada orang di ¹⁶ padang ¹⁶ itu banyak lari mudik duduk ke hulu dan orang Ba Bekal ¹⁷ itu banyak asal orang padang itulah. Pada masa dahulunya ¹⁸ kucing berjalan dari pada Payung Hujung ¹⁹ lalu ke Kuala / Aru ¹ itu tiada turun ke tanah hingga meniti diatas bumbungan rumah orang itu juga. Demikianlah dihikeyatkan oléh orang tua-tua.

18.

Sebermula Yang ² Dipertuan Besar pun bermohon pulang ke Johor. [dan adinda baginda Raja Bajau ³ dengan bundanya tinggal di Patani].² Hatta antara berapa lamanya Paduka Syah ^cAlam diatas takhta kerajaan itu maka Paduka Syah ^cAlam pun geringlah lalu mangkat. Maka Raja Kuning pun ditabalkan oranglah maka mayat Paduka Syah ^cAlam pun

⁷⁻⁷ A a-p-r-a' c-a-y, B Perat J-h-y-a.

⁸⁻⁸ B tiga orang yang pandai yaitu ("there were three experts").

⁹ AB p-q-h.

¹⁰ A a-y-w, B a-b-w.

¹¹ A p-r-y-sy, B q-r-sy-h.

¹² B kena.

¹³ B pandan (p-n-d-a-n).

¹⁴ B padang, adds: lalu ke Kub.ng Badang.

¹⁵ B = 13.

¹⁶⁻¹⁶ B = 13.

¹⁷ A b-a-b-k-l, B b-n-d-a-n b-a-k-l.

¹⁸ B itu.

¹⁹ A p-a-y-ng h-w-j-ng, B h-w-j-ng p-a-y-ng.

58 ¹ lacking in B.

²⁻² maka telah selesailah dari pada perangnya Apya' Dicada itu, maka Y.D.J. pun berbicaralah muafakat hendak kembali ke negeri Johor dahulu, karena sudah mening-galkan negerinya. Maka Y.D. pun pergilah menghadap P.S.^cA. hendak mohon ke Johor dan isteri Y.D. pun ditinggalkan di Patani, karena Y.D. tiada lama hendak duduk di Johor itu. Seketika Y.D. pun bermohonlah kepada P.S.^cA. kembali ber-simpan-simpan. Maka pada sa^cat yang sempurna maka Y.D. pun turunklah naik perahu berlayar kembali ke Johor. Demikianlah diceterakan oléh orang yang empunya cetera. ("When the war with A.D. was over, the Sultan, after due consultation, decided to return to Johore, for he had left his country a long time ago. He went to pay his respects and beg leave of the queen, and he left his wife in Patani, as he did not plan to stay in Johore for long. He soon took leave of the queen and returned to make himself ready. He boarded his ship at a favourable moment and set sail for Johore").

³ A b-a-j-m-w (?).

dikuburkan oranglah dan Paduka Syah Alam itulah dipanggil orang Marhum Pahang sebab bersuamikan Raja Fahang.

Syahdan Raja Kuning kerajaan itu dipanggil orang Pera'cau pula dan Pera'cau itulah yang tiada santap ⁴ hasil raja, dan yang jadi santapnya hasil tanaman pada kebunnya, dari pada harga bunga dan harga sayur-sayuran itulah yang disantapnya dan dipakainya, dan sungguhpun demikian Pera'cau itu ada menaruh saudagar seorang Nakhoda Sandang ⁴ namanya, dan Nakhoda Sandang itulah dipanggil orang saudagar raja. Dan Pera'cau itulah yang terlalu kaya karena harta Marhum Ke Siam dan Marhum Bungsu ⁵ anak-beranak itu semuanya berhimpun kepada Pera'cau seorang itu. Antara ⁶ lima hari Pera'cau kerajaan itu maka Pera'cau pun menyuruh orang mengangkut hartanya itu, sudah itu ditimbunkannya di hadapan <balai penghadapan> [perempuan] itu, tiga hari lamanya mengangkut harta itu. Setelah sudah habis harta itu, ⁶ maka Pera'cau pun menyuruh memanggil Bendahara Datuk ⁷ Sakur pada masa itu ⁷ dengan segala menteri semuanya berhimpun masuk
59 mengadap Pera'cau. Maka titah Pera'cau kepada bendahara dan / segala menteri sekalian yang ada hadir mengadap Pera'cau itu: "Ini harta béta ¹ dan harta ini semuanya béta ¹ jadikan harta raja." ² Maka sekalian menteri pun menyembah semuanya mengatakan: "Daulat Tuanku." ³

⁴⁻⁴ B makan hasil negeri dan yang dimakan itu harga bunga-bunga dan lain-lain yang pada tangan (r. taman!) itulah dijadikan makan pakai; sungguh peracau itu tiada makan hasil negeri karena ada seorang saudagar Sandang ("she did not consume the revenues of the country, but lived on the returns from the flowers and other produce of her gardens; that is what she used for food and clothing. Indeed, the queen did not consume the revenues of the country; as there was a certain merchant Sandang").

⁵ A Yang Tua.

⁶⁻⁶ B Syahdan maka Peracau pun menyuruh angkut sekalian harta, lima hari disuruh orang timbunkan pada penghadapan balai tiga hari sudah habis ("Then the queen gave orders for all her treasures to be transported; in five days' time she ordered the people to heap them up in the audience hall; it took them three days").

⁷⁻⁷ lacking in B.

59 ¹⁻¹ B dunia kita.

² B adds: Maka barang siapa dijadikan raja negeri Patani itu yaitu dialah yang empunya milik turun-temurun datang kepada akhir zaman ("And whoever is made king of Patani will be their owner, from generation to generation, till the end of time").

³⁻³ B adds a long reply by the ministers, and then adds: Setelah harta itu pun disimpan oranglah didalam gedungnya, maka Peracau pun berangkat masuk diiringkan oléh inang pengasuh dan dayangnya binti-binti sekalian kedalam istananya. Antara itu selangnya maka khabar Marhum Pahang mangkat itu pun dipersembahkan oranglah. Maka setelah Y. D. J. mendengar demikian itu maka Y. D. J. segeralah berlempap melawati Marhum Pahang mangkat itu serta membawa paduka bunda Y. D. dan

Bermula tatkala Yang Dipertuan Johor beristerikan Raja Kuning itu Marhum Pahang diatas takhta kerajaan lalu diserang oléh Apya' Déca'; dan peninggalan Apya' Déca' kembali ke Siam itu maka Yang Dipertuan pun bermohon kepada Marhum Pahang pulang ke Johor. Hatta antara tengah dua tahun maka Marhum Pahang pun mangkat dan Yang Dipertuan Johor pun membawa bundanya dengan adinda baginda Yang Dipertuan Muda datang ke Patani melawat Marhum Pahang mangkat itu.³ Hatta antara tiga bulan lamanya maka Yang Dipertuan pun kembali ke Johor dan bundanya dengan Yang Dipertuan Muda ditinggalkan menunggu Pera'cau kalau-kalau Apya' Déca' itu datang pula ke Patani.

19.

Adapun pada masa Marhum Pahang kerajaan itu ada menaruh casyiq⁴ ikat-ikatan empat⁵ orang, seorang bernama Tun Emas dan seorang bernama Tun Pérak dan seorang bernama Tun Mas Din(a)i⁶ dan seorang bernama Tun Madu Sari;⁷ dan bidwaninya⁸ Dang Saja⁹ seorang dan seorang bernama Dang Meriam,¹⁰ seorang¹¹ bernama Dang Bidah,¹¹ seorang bernama Dang Sirat,¹² seorang bernama Dang Puspasari, seorang bernama Dang Alit, seorang bernama Dang Cendera, seorang¹³ bernama Dang Enam,¹³ seorang bernama Dang Sadah, seorang bernama Dang Sur(a)i, seorang bernama Dang Semara, seorang bernama Dang Alas.¹⁴ Maka bidwan duabelas orang itulah yang terlalu
60 / banyak ragamnya dan nyanyinya berbagai-bagai¹ dan nama ikatan itu¹ 'Seri Rama menambak tasik hendak pergi² ke Langkapuri' dan ada

paduka adinda Y.D.M. ke Patani ("After the treasure had been stored in the godowns, the queen entered the palace, accompanied by all the ladies-in-waiting, maids, and so on. Some time later the news of Marhum Pahang's death was reported to the sultan of Johore. After he had heard the news he immediately made ready to pay a visit of condolence to Patani, taking with him his mother and younger brother").

⁴ A c-a-sy-y-q, B c-a-s-y-q.

⁵ lacking in B.

⁶ A d-y-n-y, B d-y-n-a-r.

⁷ B Mandura Sari.

⁸ B adds: duabelas orang ("twelve people").

⁹ A s-a-j-a, B s-a-j-y.

¹⁰ AB m-r-y-m.

¹¹⁻¹¹ lacking in B.

¹² B consistently has s-y-r-t, A has in a few cases s-r-t, mostly m-r-t.

¹³⁻¹³ lacking in B.

¹⁴ B halus; B adds: seorang bernama Dang Merdu, seorang bernama Dang Gemala ("Dang Merdu and Dang Gemala").

60 ¹⁻¹ B itu terlalulah pandai, berbagai-bagai nama ikat-ikatan itu, ada yang ikatan ("they were excellent singers; they had a varied repertoire; there was one piece called ...").

² B menyerang.

yang ikat-ikatan 'Datuk Bendahara Paduka Raja Malaka sedang masa <perang dengan Peringgi', dan ada yang ikatan 'Datuk Paduka Seri Maharaja Johor sedang masa' hendak menyerang Jambi'. Lain dari pada itu banyaklah masing-masing dengan pengetahuannya bidwan itu dan suaranya pun baik-baik belaka, tetapi yang terlebih baik ³ suaranya hanyalah Dang Sirat itu seorang.³

Hatta antara dua bulan peninggalan Yang Dipertuan pulang ke Johor itu maka Yang Dipertuan Muda pun memerogol Pera'cau. Syahdan sebab berani Yang Dipertuan Muda kerjakan kerja itu dari karena diketahuinya kakanda baginda itu tiada dapat ⁴ dengan perempuan.⁵ Arakian selama Yang Dipertuan beristeri akan Pera'cau itu sehari-hari bermain-main 'asyik itulah. Dan antara sebulan ⁶ lamanya maka Yang Dipertuan pun mengambil Dang Sirat itu dipakai oleh Yang Dipertuan. Adapun sebab dijadikan bidwan pun Dang Sirat itu oleh suaranya terlebih dari pada segala yang lain, rupanya tiada baik, terlalu jahat lagi hitam pertubuhannya dan mukanya lebar penuh dengan parut puru ⁷ dan tubuhnya terlalu besar.⁸ Dan adalah Dang Sirat itu berguru ⁹ hubatan kepada Dang Jela dan Dang Jela itu hamba kepada bunda Yang Dipertuan, pengasuh pada Yang Dipertuan Muda dan yaitu juru bawa mandi ¹⁰ Yang Dipertuan Muda juga. Hatta sehari kepada sehari makin kasih ¹¹ Yang Dipertuan akan Dang Sirat itu, lalu diperbuatkan rumah diluar pintu litung perempuan sebelah matahari jatuh itu.¹¹ Maka ¹² Dang Sirat pun banyak orang yang memberi hubatan akan dia pula dari pada banyak emasnya itu.¹² Maka Yang Dipertuan pun terlalu sangat kasih akan Dang Sirat itu, tiadalah / pergi beradu ¹

³⁻³ B sekali dari pada bidwan yang duabelas itu yaitu Dang Sirat yang baik sekali suaranya terlebih lagi dari pada buluh perindu, bunyinya suaranya berdengung-dengung seperti kumbang menyereng bunga, demikianlah diceterakan oleh orang yang empunya ceteranya ("... whose voice was even more beautiful than an Aeolian harp, softly humming like a bee buzzing around a flower").

⁴ B adds: hampir.

⁵ B perempuanannya ("his woman").

⁶ B beberapa.

⁷ B adds: berkerutu-kerutu sangat odoh ("pimpily and very ugly").

⁸ B tambun dan punggungnya tinggi ("plump, with protruding buttocks").

⁹ B adds 'ilmu saikh (r. sihir, "sorcery").

¹⁰ AB k-n-d-y.

¹¹⁻¹¹ B kasihnya tiadalah dapat dihindangkan dia. Maka Y. D. pun membuat sebuah rumah di pintu sebelah matahari naik (?) jatuh ("his love was boundless, and the prince had a house made for her in the west").

¹²⁻¹² lacking in B.

^{61 1-1} B laki isteri ke istana besar dengan Peracau, dengan gila mabuknya kepada Dang Sirat jadilah hilang akal luput kira bicaranya ("to live as man and wife with the queen in the main palace. He was so infatuated with Dang Sirat that he had gone completely out of his mind").

kepada Pera'cau lagi.¹ Dan selama Yang Dipertuan duduk di Patani itu segala orang Acéhlah yang sangat bébas karena orang Acéh itu teman Yang Dipertuan menyabung² sehari-hari; barang sembahnya pun sangat dipakai oléh Yang Dipertuan; dan masa itulah Yang Dipertuan membuat karalar-q³ dan bers-ng-k-ng-k pasung itulah hendak dipasung segala orang besar Patani.³

Hatta pada suatu hari kata Dang Sirat pada Yang Dipertuan: "Jikalau sungguh Tuanku kasih akan patik Tuanku buatkanlah patik caping dua butir, beratnya patik hendak lima puluh tahlil, patik hendak pakai di hadapan di belakang dan pohonkan patik baju emas sehelai." Maka Yang Dipertuan pun menyuruh pandai emas menempa caping dan baju seperti maksud Dang Sirat itu. Setelah sudah maka diberikan kepada Dang Sirat, maka Dang Sirat pun pakailah caping kedua butir itu.

Hatta pada suatu malam maka Dang Sirat pun berbuat amarah, tiada mau tidur dengan Yang Dipertuan, berapa-berapa dipujuk oléh Yang Dipertuan pun Dang Sirat tiada mau juga. Arakian maka kata Dang Sirat: "Jikalau sungguh Tuanku kasih akan patik Tuanku tabalkanlah patik, jikalau sehari⁴ Tuanku tabalkan sehari patik mati pun patik sukaiah."⁴ Hatta maka Yang Dipertuan pun berteguh-teguhanlah janjinya dengan Dang Sirat itu, maka Dang Sirat pun baharulah mau tidur dengan Yang Dipertuan itu. Maka Dang Sirat pun disuruh⁵ panggil Encik Puan, tidak⁶ diberi panggil nama Dang Sirat lagi;⁶ barang siapa menyebut⁷ nama Dang Sirat / orang itu dibelah¹ mulutnya.

Hatta pada suatu hari Dang Sirat pun hendak turun mandi kedalam kebun.² Maka kata Dang Sirat: "Jikalau sungguh Tuanku kasih akan patik Tuanku dukunglah patik bawa turun mandi sama dengan Tuanku." Maka³ Yang Dipertuan pun tersenyum lalu mendukung Dang Sirat mandi bersama-sama.³ Demikianlah kasih Yang Dipertuan akan Dang Sirat itu.

Maka pada suatu hari sembah orang Acéh kepada Yang Dipertuan: "Tuanku, pada zaman Seri Paduka patik dengar segala isteri menteri

² B adds: ayam.

³⁻³ B kapasung (k-a-p-a-s-w-ng) dilarik (d-l-a-r-y-q) karena hendak digapasung (d-g-a-p-a-s-w-ng) orang besar-besar Patani.

⁴⁻⁴ B tiga hari sekalipun sukaiah hati patik tuanku ("if you only do it for three days I shall be satisfied").

⁵ A d-s-w-r-t.

⁶⁻⁶ lacking in B.

⁷⁻¹ (p. 62) B memanggil Dang Sirat itu aku belah.

62 ² A k-y-w-n.

³⁻³ lacking in B.

hulubalang semuanya masuk bergilir bertunggu ke dalam, lakinya ⁴ bertunggu di balairung. Tuanku ini pun baik juga meletak giliran mengikut Ser. Paduka itu." Arakian maka Yang Dipertuan pun berkenanlah akan sembah orang Acéh itu. Hatta maka khabar itu pun masyhurlah mengatakan Yang Dipertuan hendak meletakkan giliran pada segala anak ⁵ isteri ⁵ menteri hulubalang sekalian itu. Maka segala menteri hulubalang pun semuanya berhimpun masuk dengan duka citanya mengadap Pera'cau. Adapun ⁶ Pera'cau selama Yang Dipertuan gila akan Dang Sirat itu Pera'cau pun tiada duduk ⁶ didalam istana lagi, turun duduk kedalam kebun pada balai yang bernama Rangkai Raksi ⁷ itulah siang malam.⁸ <Syahdan maka sekalian menteri hulubalang pegawai pun masuklah pada suatu hari mengadap Peracau. Maka sembah> segala menteri pegawai itu: "Jikalau paduka kakanda panggil juga segala patik sekalian itu disuruhnya bertunggu ke dalam seolah-olah durhakalah patik sekalian kebawah Duli Tuanku." Maka titah Pera'cau: "Pekerjaan itu mana yang jadi benar kepada tuan-tuan sekalian juga kerjakanlah dan nyawa ⁹ anak raja itu juga yang béta minta, lain dari itu mana perintah tuantuan sekalianlah, karena kasihan béta akan bundanya."

Hatta maka Yang Dipertuan pun berbicaralah dengan orang Acéh dan segala pegawai Johor hendak tabalkan Dang Sirat itu. Maka sembah segala menteri Johor: "Dimana Tuanku hendak tabalkan Encik Puan ini?" Maka ¹⁰ titah Yang Dipertuan: / "Kita hendak tabalkan di Kedilah; baik hendak pun kita tabalkan ¹ di rumah Encik Puan ini, karena berdekatan sangat dengan istana besar, jadi sarulah ragamnya nobat Johor dengan nobat Patani itu." Maka ² sembah sekalian menteri: ² "Pendapat patik jikalau Tuanku tabalkan Encik Puan itu di ³ Kedi jadi berbandinglah nobat paduka adinda dengan nobat Encik Puan, kalau-kalau fadhihat nama Duli Tuanku pada negeri yang lain." ⁴ Maka titah

⁴ B dan laginya ("and also" instead of "their husbands").

⁵⁻⁵ B bini.

⁶⁻⁶ B hatta beberapa lamanya Peracau selama Y.D. gila akan Dang Sirat tiadalah pernah Y.D. hirau lagi kepada Peracau, maka Peracau pun tiadalah duduk ("For some time now, for as long as the prince had been crazy about Dang Sirat and not cared at all about the queen, the latter had not been living...").

⁷ B r-ng-g-y r-q-s-y.

⁸ B adds: dan santap-santapnya pun dibawa turun oleh dayang-dayang pada balai itulah tempatnya ("and her food was also brought down to her at that place by her maids").

⁹ B yang tahu.

¹⁰⁻¹ (p. 63) B Jikalau kita tabalkan.

63 ²⁻² lacking in B.

³ B adds: kaki Jambatan.

⁴⁻⁴ B sembah sekalian penggawa: Jikalau demikian pada pendapat patik sekalian baiklah kita berbuat negeri pada Tambangan.

Yang Dipertuan: "Jikalau demikian dimana baik kita tabalkan Encik Puan ini?" Maka sembah segala orang Acéh: "Pendapat patik di Tambanganlah; baik jikalau Tuanku hendak berbuat negeri pun dapatlah karena ⁴ ra'ayat pun banyak hampir pada tempat itu;⁵ dan segala menteri hulubalang Patani ini mana yang patut ⁵ kita pindah ⁶ bawa mudik kita bawa mudik ⁶ dengan anak bininya duduk bersama-sama dengan Encik Puan." Arakian maka Yang Dipertuan pun berkenanlah akan sembah segala orang Acéh itu.

Hatta khabar Yang Dipertuan hendak tabalkan Dang Sirat di Tambangan itu pun masyhurlah didalam negeri Patani ini. Maka segala orang besar-besar Patani pun masuk mengadap Pera'cau berdatang sembah: "Ampun Tuanku, patik dengar khabarnya kata paduka kakanda hendak mudik ke Tambangan merajakan Dang Sirat; dan tatkala sudah keluar segala orang Johor itu didalam negeri ini tiadalah patik sekalian beri masuk lagi." Maka titah Pera'cau: "Mana benar kepada segala menteri hulubalang sekalian juga kerjakanlah dan nyawa anak raja itu juga béta minta karena sangat kasihan béta akan bundanya itu." Maka
64 sembah segala menteri sekalian: "Patik ini hamba, / masakan patik melalui titah Duli Tuanku."

Hatta maka Yang Dipertuan pun menitahkan suruh berkerah menteri hulubalang Patani hendak dibawa mudik ke Tambangan. Maka segala menteri hulubalang itu pun semuanya pergi mengadap Datuk Bendahara Sakur muafakat, tiada diberi mudik oléh ¹ Datuk Bendahara segala pegawai, Seri Tun ² juga diberi mudik, ada kadar ¹ sepuluh orang mengiringkan ³ Yang Dipertuan membawa Dang Sirat mudik ke Tambangan.³ Pada ketika asar matahari maka Yang Dipertuan sampailah ke Tambangan. Maka Duli Yang Dipertuan pun turun dari atas gajah membawa Dang Sirat duduk didalam khémah diadap oléh segala menteri ⁴ hulubalang Johor dan ra'ayat sekalian,⁴ berbicara dua hari lagi hendak ditabalkan Dang Sirat itu. Dan Seri Setia ⁵ dan Maharaja Setia ⁶ pun ada mengadap dan yang lain-lain semuanya duduk masing-

⁵⁻⁵ B inilah kita tabalkan. Syahdan mana-mana sekalian menteri penggawa Patani yang patut.

⁶⁻⁶ bawa hilir pindah pada Tambangan ("we bring them downstream and have them settle in Tambangan").

64 ¹⁻¹ B jikalau diberi mudik pun sekadar ("even if they were allowed to go upstream there were only ...").

² A t-w-n.

³⁻³ lacking in B.

⁴⁻⁴ B bini perwira (r. biti perwara?) dayang-dayang bidwan empat orang. Hatta maka Y. D. pun duduk ("waited upon by all the maids and ladies-in-waiting and singers, four of them (?). Then the prince sat down").

⁶ AB s-t-y.

⁶ A setia, B selia.

masing dengan terataknya. Maka titah Yang Dipertuan kepada Seri Setia:⁷ “Mengapa maka segala menteri pegawai Patani tiada mudik bersama-sama dengan kita?” Maka sembah Seri Setia: “Ésok harilah⁸ Tuanku⁸ patik sekalian itu mudik karena lagi menghimpunkan ra^cyat menunggui negeri sunyi.” Maka titah Yang Dipertuan: “Pergilah⁹ orangkaya hilir, ésoklah kita tahu akan sampainya⁹ karena lusa kita hendak tabalkan Encik Puan.” Maka Seri Setia pun bermohon pulang ke terataknya. Maka pada malam itu segala pegawai Patani semuanya habis lari hilir. Maka pintu gerbang pun ditutup oranglah dan bedil pun diatur oranglah.

Setelah keésokan harinya maka dipersembahkan orang Acéh pada Yang Dipertuan mengatakan segala pegawai Patani yang mudik ini seorang pun tiada lagi, habis lari hilir semalam. Maka Yang Dipertuan / pun terkejut terlalu marah serta menyuruhkan mengenakan rengga
65 gajah, lalu naik bertimbang¹ rengga dengan Dang Sirat itu berjalan hilir diiringkan oléh segala ra^cyat Johor dengan orang Acéh. Setelah sampai ke Tanjung maka Yang Dipertuan pun menyuruhkan orang Acéh pergi melihat kedalam negeri. Setelah sampai orang Acéh ke pintu gerbang maka dilihatnya pintu gerbang pun ditutup orang dan bedilnya pun banyak diatur orang. Maka orang Acéh itu pun kembalilah persembahkan Yang Dipertuan barang yang dilihat dan yang didengarnya itu. Setelah Yang Dipertuan menengar sembah orang Acéh itu maka Yang Dipertuan pun naik gajah mudik menuju jalan ke² Pasir.² Setelah sampai kepada³ Pasir Bendaraja,⁴ maka segala orang Patani pun banyak menurut Yang Dipertuan itu dibunuhnya segala orang Acéh itu sepanjang jalan, terlalu banyak mati dan lukanya. Maka Yang Dipertuan pun lalu mudik. Setelah sampai³ ke Tabih maka Yang Dipertuan pun turun dari atas gajah berhenti dibawah jambu. Maka Dang⁵ Sirat pun

⁷ B adds: dan Maharaja Selia.

⁸⁻⁸ B konon.

⁹⁻⁹ B baiklah ésok hari orangkaya hilirlah memberi tahu orang Patani suruh sampai ésok hari jangan tidak kita tahu akan sampai (“you had better go down tomorrow and tell the people of Patani, ordering them to be here the next day; and don’t let me see that they haven’t turned up”).

65 ¹ B bertimbang.

²⁻² A k-p-a-s-y-r, B p-s-a-r.

³⁻³ B seketika lagi maka sekalian orang Acéh pun banyaklah mati dan luka dibunuh oléh orang Patani. Maka lalu dihambat oléh orang Patani seketika Y.D. sampailah (“soon after that many of the Achehnese were killed or wounded by the people from Patani, and the rest were pursued by them; and shortly afterwards the prince arrived”).

⁴ A b-n-d-r-a-j.

⁵⁻⁵ B Y.D. pun datanglah pikirannya, lalu Y.D. pun membunuhlah Dang Sirat, ditikamnya dengan senjata, Y.D. sendiri yang membunuhnya. Maka (“then the prince came to his senses and killed D.S., stabbing her with his own hands”).

dibunuh Yang Dipertuan sendiri. Setelah sudah dibunuh Dang Sirat lalu ⁵ disuruh orang Kampung Tabih tanamkan Dang Sirat itu di hujung Bukit Tabih itulah. Maka Yang Dipertuan pun naik gajah menuju jalan ke Sai. Maka Pera'cau pun menyuruhkan orang mengantarkan ⁶ Yang Dipertuan itu ke Sai dan disuruh Bendahara Sai beri perahu akan Yang Dipertuan itu.⁶ Hatta maka Yang Dipertuan pun sampailah ke Sai, maka Bendahara Sai pun persembahkan perahu dua buah dengan beras bekalan. Maka Yang Dipertuan pun turunlah ke perahu lalu berlayar kembali ke Johor dan bundanya tinggal / di Patani karena Yang Dipertuan tiada dapat masuk kedalam negeri itu.

20.

Hatta antara berapa bulan maka Pera'cau pun berbicara hendak menyuruh mengantarkan bunda Yang Dipertuan itu, maka seorang pun tiada bercakap. Arakian maka Pera'cau pun menitahkan memanggil Raja Léla di Kandang Kerbau. Adapun Raja Léla itu peranakan Minangkabau dan segala anak cucunya pun banyak orang yang baik-baik. Setelah Raja Léla datang maka titah Pera'cau: "Kita panggil Raja Léla ini kita hendak suruh pergi mengantarkan bunda anak raja itu ke Johor." Maka sembah Raja Léla: "Patik ini hamba yang hina kebawah Duli Yang Mahamulia, mana titah patik junjung."

Arakian maka Pera'cau pun memberi titah kepada laksamana suruh beri perahu akan Raja Léla lima buah dengan orangnya sekali, dan perahu mana yang berkenan kepada Raja Léla. Hatta maka Raja Léla pun bermohon mudik bersimpan. Maka <Raja> Léla pun memilih segala anak cucunya empat puluh orang yang baik-baik. Setelah lengkap maka Raja Léla pun hilir mengadap Pera'cau.

Setelah datanglah kepada hari yang baik dan sa'at yang sempurna, maka Raja Léla pun bermohonlah kepada Pera'cau. Maka Raja Léla pun dikaruniai persalin. Setelah sudah Raja Léla memakai persalin lalu naik ke balairung menju<nju>ng duli Pera'cau. Maka titah Pera'cau: "Kita serahkanlah Raja Léla kepada Allah ta'ala." Maka segala yang mengadap semuanya itu pun mengatakan: "Daulat Tuanku." Maka sembah Raja Léla: "Dahulu Allah kemudian nabinya,¹ dengan daulat Duli Yang Mahamulia dapat patik kembali mengadap kebawah Duli

⁶⁻⁶ memberi tahu bendahara menyuruh bendahara tolong memberi perahu kepada Y. D. suruh hantar ke Johor dan suruh memberi beras bekal segala ("to tell the P.M. to help the prince by putting at his disposal a ship and rice supplies for his trip to Johore").

Tuanku dengan sempurnanya." Maka ² titah Pera'cau: "Ada berapa Raja Léla membawa anak cucu yang bersama-sama?" Maka sembah
 67 Raja Léla: "Empat <puluh> sekalian anak cucu / yang sama baik jahat dan patik." Dan orang empat puluh itu pun diberi persalin oléh Pera'cau kepada Raja Léla suruh Raja Léla beri pada segala meréka itu. Arakian maka ¹ bunda Yang Dipertuan pun dihantarkan oranglah turun ke perahu dengan seperti 'adatny, suatu ² tiada dikurang oléh Pera'cau. Maka Raja Léla pun bermohon turun ke perahu. Setelah ² turunlah angin yang paksi maka Raja Léla pun berlayarlah.

Hatta antara berapa hari di laut maka Raja Léla pun sampailah ke labuhan lalu membuang obat dan orang bandar pun turunlah memeriksai perahu itu. Maka kata orang didalam perahu itu: "Sahaya semua ini utusan datang mengantarkan bunda Yang Dipertuan." Arakian maka orang itu pun kembalilah lalu dipersembahkannya kepada laksamana. Maka laksamana pun segera masuk mengadap persembahkan kepada Yang Dipertuan seperti kata orang itu. Maka Yang Dipertuan pun terlalu sukacita seraya memberi titah pada segala menteri hulubalang ésok hari suruh menyambut bunda baginda.

Setelah keésokan harinya maka turunlah ³ segala pegawai menteri Johor dari pada laki-laki dan perempuan menyambut ³ bunda Yang Dipertuan, dan surat pun diarak oranglah. Setelah sampai ke balairung dan surat itu pun disambutlah orang dan Imam Salahuddin pun menyampai ⁴ tampan ⁴ membuka surat itu lalu dibacanya dan Raja Léla berdiri di tanah menengarkan surat itu dibaca orang. Setelah sudah dibaca orang maka Raja Léla pun naiklah ke balairung menjunjung duli Yang Dipertuan. Maka sirih pun dibawa oranglah kepada Raja
 68 Léla. Maka laksamana pun bertanya: "Berapa / hari orangkaya di laut?" Maka kata Raja Léla: "Tigabelas hari di laut." Maka kata laksamana: "Apa khabar Patani?" Maka kata Raja Léla: "Khabar baik, segala orang besar-besar semuanya ada didalam séhat ¹ kesukaan dan segala ra'ayat pun ma'mur dengan makanan." Arakian maka Raja Léla pun bermohon turun ke perahu.

Antara dua hari Raja Léla duduk di Johor itu maka Raja Léla pun

²⁻¹ (p. 67) Maka seketika duduk Raja Léla pun mohon lalu turun ke perahu dan ("Soon afterwards R. L. begged leave and went aboard his ship").

67 ²⁻² B seketika lagi.

³⁻³ B sekalian bini menteri hulubalang orang besar-besar sekalian pun semuanya turun menyambut ("all the wives of the ministers, officers and other authorities went down in order to welcome the queen").

⁴⁻⁴ B menyelampai tatapan kekuningan.

68 ¹ B adds: tiada sakit demam, semuanya didalam ("no-one was sick with fever ...").

mencari hamba ² raja akan sahabatnya. Maka ditunjukkan orang seorang hamba raja Encik Bayani namanya. Maka Encik Bayani disambut ³ Raja Léla turun ke perahu. Maka kata Raja Léla: "Sahaya sambut ⁴ encik bermain-main ke perahu ini, karena sahaya ini dagang, kalau-kalau ada sakit sukar sahaya seorang pun sahaya tiada kenal tempat sahaya hendak minta tolong; sebagai pula ini tiada tahu akan tertib Melayu. Jikalau ada khilaf bebal sahaya minta enciklah mengajari sahaya." Maka Encik Bayani pun tertawa seraya katanya: "Lain ⁵ kata pula orangkaya: lainkah Patani dengan Johor? Ia Patani ia Johor Johor Patani." ⁵ Maka kata Raja Léla: "Sebenarnya seperti kata encik itu, serupa Johor dengan Patani, tetapi adat tertibnya berlain-lainan."

Arakian maka Raja Léla pun memberikan Encik Bayani kain pucuk pauh panjang ⁶ bersirat sehela dan lembing bertemim ⁷ emas serangkap. Maka kata Encik Bayani: "Bersusah-susah pula orangkaya akan sahaya." Maka kata Raja Léla: "Inilah tanda sahaya bersaudara dengan encik." Maka Encik Bayani pun bermohon pulang. Kemudian dari itu segailah Encik Bayani itu turun bermain-main ke perahu Raja Léla.

69 Arakian pada suatu hari Raja Léla mandi kerisnya dipegang dengan tangan kanan. Apabila ia hendak bergosok ⁸ maka dialihnya / pada tangan kiri. Maka Encik Bayani pun datang. ¹ Maka kata Encik Bayani: "Orangkaya mandi pun membawa keris?" Maka kata Raja Léla: "Tiadakah encik tahu akan sahaya ini? Hulubalang Patani di darat juga ada seteru, di air ini tiadakah seteru? Adakah hulubalang itu mati tiada dengan senjata?" Maka Encik Bayani pun tertawa menengar kata Raja Léla itu.

Hatta antara berapa hari maka Encik Bayani pun turun ke perahu Raja Léla. Maka Encik Bayani pun berkata kepada Raja Léla: "Esok titah Yang Dipertuan memanggil orangkaya hendak diminta keris." Maka kata Raja Léla: "Yang kasih saudaraku itu tiadalah terbalas oléh sahaya, melainkan Allah ta'ala yang membalas dia." Seketika berkata maka Encik Bayani pun bermohon pulang. Dan peninggal Encik Bayani

² B biduanda.

³ B dijemput (but see 4!).

⁴ B here also has disambut.

⁵⁻⁶ B Lainkah Johor dengan Patani? Pada pikir sahaya ya Johor ya Patani sama juga ("Is Johore any different from Patani? In my opinion Patani and Johore are the same").

⁶ B punca.

⁷⁻⁸ B bertemi sengkarangkak (delete?) serangkak (r. -p?); A spells the first word b-r-t-m-m.

⁸ B gosok d-a-n-g-k-y.

69 ¹ B adds: serta terpanjang pada Raja Léla mandi dengan keris ("and he happened to see R. L. bathing with his kris").

itu maka Raja Léla pun memanggil segala anak cucunya berbicara.² Maka kata Raja Léla: “Ésok aku dipanggil Yang Dipertuan hendak minta keris dan engkau sekalian ini hendaklah memakai keris pendua;³ dan apabila aku memandang matamu maka engkau sekalian pun memandang matakmu, jangan engkau tinggal barang seorang.” Maka kata meréka itu: “Lain dari pada itu apa lagi?” Maka kata Raja Léla: “Engkau perbuatlah seperti kataku itu.”²

Syahdan setelah keésokan harinya maka hamba raja pun datang memanggil Raja Léla itu. Arakian maka Raja Léla pun naiklah dengan anak cucunya Raja Léla yang empat puluh itu, semuanya berkeris pendua. Setelah sudah Raja Léla sampai ke balairung dilihatnya Yang Dipertuan sudah semayam diadap oléh segala menteri hulubalang sekalian.

70 / Maka Raja Léla pun duduk¹ menyembah kepada Yang Dipertuan. Hatta¹ seketika duduk maka bentara pun berdiri menjunjungkan titah. Maka kata bentara: “Raja Léla titah meminta keris.” Maka sembah Raja Léla: “Daulat Tuanku, nyawa patik patik persembahkan; yang keris patik pohonkan.” Maka Raja Léla pun memandang ke belakang kepada² segala anak cucunya, dan³ segala meréka itu pun semuanya memandang kepada Raja Léla.³ Syahdan tiga kali bentara menjunjungkan titah Yang Dipertuan demikian itu, maka sembah Raja Léla dan kelakuannya pun demikian juga.⁴ Arakian maka kata bentara: “Raja

²⁻² B berkhobar: ésoh hari hendak dipanggil oléh Y. D. hendak minta keris kepada kita. Maka sekarang apabila kita dipanggil oléh Y. D. maka hendaklah kita anak-beranak semuanya yang empatpuluh ini janganlah dilupakan dan hendaklah memakai keris berpendua semuanya. Apabila masuk mengadap Y. D. ésoh hari maka jangan beringtalan lagi semuanya berkemas akan dirinya. Dan apakala aku memandang mata hendaklah beringat sekaliannya. Maka jawab segala anak cucunya: In sya Allah ta'ala, mana-mana kata datuk hamba kerjakan (“and told them: Tomorrow we shall be summoned by the sultan, who is going to ask us for our kris. Now, when the king's call comes let none of us, the whole forty of us, be forgetful, and let us all wear our kris and the reserve kris as well. And tomorrow when we enter the palace, let us not neglect to prepare ourselves. And when I look you in the eyes be on your guard. All his children and grandchildren replied: God willing, we shall carry out whatever you tell us to”).

³ A p-d-w-a, B p-n-d-w-a' and p-n-d-w'.

70 ¹⁻¹ B masuk mengadap Y. D. seperti kelakuan singa yang gelak lakunya, terlalu hébat dipandang oléh orang (“entered and waited upon the king; he behaved like a wild lion, terrifying for people to look at”).

² A maka.

³⁻³ B maka masing-masing pun memandang sama sendiri (“And they all looked at each other”).

⁴ B adds: serta memandang kepada sekalian anak cucu yang empat puluh itu. Maka masing-masing pun beringatkan dirinya, takut satu-satu hal (“while he looked at all forty of his children and grandchildren. And they were all on their guard, each and every one of them, fearing that one thing or another might happen”).

Léla titah dikaruniai keris kepada Raja Léla." Maka Raja Léla pun mengunus keris dari pinggangnya bertelut menjunjung duli Yang Dipertuan. Setelah ia bangkit maka sembahnya: "Daulat Tuanku, patik menjunjung karunialah."

Maka titah Yang Dipertuan: "Kita dengar banyak segala menteri hulubalang yang disuruh ke Johor ini tiada bercakap, hanyalah Raja Léla yang bercakap." Maka sembah Raja Léla: "Tiada yang lain Tuanku yang dititahkan Paduka Adinda itu dan jika sekiranya dititahkan Paduka Adinda yang lain niscaya yang lainlah datang mengadap Tuanku. Akan sekarang yang dititahkan Paduka Adinda itu patik, melainkan patiklah datang mengadap Duli Tuanku." Maka titah Yang Dipertuan: "Bagaimana kepada hati Raja Léla maka Raja Léla datang ke Johor ini?" Maka sembah Raja Léla: "Daulat Tuanku, tatkala patik di Patani hamba kebawah Duli Paduka Adinda dan tatkala patik di Johor hamba kebawah Duli Tuanku tetapi patik ⁵ tiada bertuan dua." Arakian maka Raja Léla pun dikaruniai persalin maka Raja Léla pun memakai persalin lalu menjunjung duli / bermohon turun ke perahu.

71

Hatta antara duapuluh ¹ hari maka Raja Léla pun naik bermohon. Antara dua hari maka surat dan bingkis pun diarak oranglah dan Raja Léla pun menjunjung duli Yang Dipertuan lalu turun ke perahu. Arakian maka Raja Léla pun berlayarlah. Setelah sampai ke Patani maka surat dan bingkis itu pun disambut orang lalu diaraknya. Setelah sampai ke balairung maka surat itu pun dibaca oranglah. Setelah sudah dibacanya maka Raja Léla pun menjunjung duli Pera'cau. Antara tiga hari maka Raja Léla pun bermohon pulang ke rumahnya ke Kandang Kerbau.

21.

Sebermula selang berapa lamanya maka Raja Kali ² pun berbicara <dengan> Tuk Mir dan segala anak cucunya yang hendak menyertai dia hendak naik ke istana itu dan Tuk Mirlah yang jadi kepalanya. Setelah datanglah kepada hari yang dijanjikan itu maka Raja Kali pun naiklah ke istana, niat Raja Kali hendak merogol Pera'cau. Maka tiada disampaikan Allah ta'ala seperti maksudnya itu, karena pada tatkala masuk ke istana itu segala dayang-dayang dan penjawat sekalian pun terkejut, dari pada tua muda semuanya pun habis berhimpun mengeliling Pera'cau tiadalah dapat Raja Kali itu hampir kepada Pera'cau itu.

Arakian maka gemparlah didalam negeri itu mengatakan Raja Kali

⁵ A s-p-y-r-w'.

¹ B dua.

² AB k-a-l-y (passim).

durhaka, sudah masuk kedalam istana. Hatta maka segala menteri pegawai pun semuanya datang berhimpun mengadap Datuk Bendahara Terenam³ hendak menengar bicara Datuk Terenam itu. Arakian maka kata Datuk Wang Katakih:⁴ “Apa bicara karena Raja Kali itu sudah
72 masuk kedalam istana? Melainkan baik kita berdatang / sembah kepada Pera’cau itu dahulu, suakah atau tiada suakah Pera’cau akan Raja Kali duduk didalam istana itu dan menyembahkan Pera’cau itu pun dengan muslihat juga, jangan didengar oléh Raja Kali.” Maka kata Datuk Terenam: “Benarlah seperti bicara Raja Wang itu.”

Maka dipersembahkanyalah seperti demikian itu. Maka titah Pera’cau: “Jikalau ada kasihan belas segala menteri pegawai akan kita tolonglah lepaskan béta dari dalam istana ini, jika¹ apa-apa pun. Yang Raja¹ Kali itu masakan tiada boléh bendahara bicarakan dengan² segala menteri pegawai sekalian, lamun juga kita sudah lepas.”

Adapun Raja Kali itu sungguhpun² tiada dapat hampir kepada Pera’cau, apabila dilihatnya Pera’cau itu hendak keluar dari istana itu hendak diamuknya. Hatta maka orang yang disuruh oléh Datuk Terenam itu pun datanglah menyampaikan titah Pera’cau itu kepada Datuk Terenam. Maka segala menteri pun tiadalah terbicara lagi menengar titah Pera’cau itu. Maka kata Datuk Wang: “Jikalau demikian baiklah kita cahari bius beri dimakannya oléh Raja Kali itu supaya dapat kita menjauhkan Pera’cau itu dari padanya.” Arakian maka semuanya pun berkenanlah akan bicara itu.

Adapun akan Raja Kali itu lain dari pada sisa Pera’cau itu tiadalah dimakannya; melainkan barang yang santap Pera’cau itulah yang dimakannya oléh Raja Kali itu. Hatta kira-kira duabelas hari lamanya Raja Kali duduk didalam istana itu, pada suatu hari Pera’cau pun santap gulai dan gulai itu sisa Pera’cau dibubuh bius tiada dilihat oléh
73 Raja Kali. Setelah sudah Pera’cau santap maka Raja Kali pun / makanlah seperti adat sehari-hari itu. Maka Raja Kali pun kena bius lalu tidur tiada khabarkan dirinya. Arakian maka Pera’cau pun dilarikan oranglah ke rumah Datuk Terenam. Setelah Pera’cau sudah lepas maka Raja Kali pun ditangkap oranglah dibunuh dihadapan pintu gerbang itu. Maka pada tempat dibunuh Raja Kali itulah mulanya sekonyong-konyong tumbuh bayam berduri. Sebab itulah bayam berduri itu dipanggil orang¹ rajakali. Maka yang Tuk Mir itu sebab tiada dibunuh, takut

³ A t-r-n-m, B t-r-a-n-m.

⁴ AB k-t-a-k-y-h.

72 ¹⁻¹ B jikalau barang apa-apa sekalipun. Yang fasal Raja.

²⁻² lacking in B.

73 ¹ B adds: bayam.

hendakkan menitikkan darah anak cucu rasul Allah. Sebab itulah maka dilabuhkan orang ke laut ² hujung Tanjung. Dan tiga hari tiga malam lamanya Datuk Terenam membunuh anak cucu Raja Kali dengan segala orang yang menyertai dia itu, dari pada laki-laki dan perempuan kecil besar semuanya habis dibunuhnya, anak didalam perut pun dibelah dibuangkan juga. Maka ada seorang cucu Raja Kali Raja Hujan namanya, pada masa itu ada kira-kira umurnya tiga tahun. Maka Raja Hujan itu disembunyikan oleh Raja Bakal Bendang Badan ³ dibawahnya kedalam hutan kubur,⁴ ditudungnya dengan kawah,⁴ sehari<-hari> dihantar makanannya. Demikianlah keturunan Raja Hujan itu kepada Raja ⁵ Kecil itu, keturunan mari kepada Raja Abu dan Alung Nam inilah.⁵

Syahdan istana Raja Kali naik itu pun Pera'cau suruh roboh buangkan ke laut. Maka dipohonkan oleh ⁶ Datuk Kun Kepadang ⁷ dijadikan balairung;⁸ itulah tatkala Siam mari, habis lari senegeri, Baginda berangkat ke Taradih,⁹ inilah dibakar oleh Siam. Demikianlah diceterakan oleh orang tua-tua.

22.

- 74 Setelah berapa lamanya / Pera'cau diatas takhta kerajaan maka Pera'cau pun gering lalu mangkat. Maka mayat Pera'cau pun dikuburkan oranglah. Dan Pera'cau itulah dipanggil orang Marhum Besar sebab karena bersuamikan Yang Dipertuan Besar Johor.

Maka sekalian menteri pun berhimpunlah berbicara ¹ karena tiadalah ² lagi silsilah raja yang hilir dari hulu itu. Adapun putus silsilah itu hingga Marhum Besar itulah dan kesudahan yang empunya negeri Patani itu pun Marhum Besar itulah.²

² B adds: pada.

³ A b-a-k-l b-n-d-ng b-d-a-n, B lacks b-d-a-n.

⁴⁻⁴ B ditudung dengan kawah dikuburkan.

⁵⁻⁵ B Raja Datuk Husin, dari pada Datuk Husin turun kepada Datuk K-c-a'-n, dari pada Datuk K-c-a'-n turun kepada Raja Abu, dari pada Raja Abu turun kepada Alung Q-r-s, dari pada Alung Q-r-s turun kepada Alung Nam, dari pada Alung Nam turun kepada Nam Meriam, turun kepada Alung Muhammad, demikianlah ("R. Hujan had as son R. D. Husin, who was the father of D. Kecaan (? r. Kecik??), who was the father of R. Abu, who was the father of A. Q-r-s, who was the father of A. Nam, who was the father of Nam Meriam, who was the father of Alung Muhammad").

⁶ B kepada.

⁷ A k-w-n k-p-a-d-ng, B lacks the last word.

⁸ B adds: maka balairung.

⁹ A k-t-r-a-d-h, B k-t-r-d-h.

74 ¹ B adds: hendak merajakan.

²⁻² B tiada (?) sudah silsilah raja yang hilang (r. hilir?) turun di hulu itu dan putus silsilahnya itu pada Yang Dipertuan Marhum Besar, itulah kesudahannya yang empunya negeri Patani Darussalam ("not (?) delete?) finished was the dynasty of the kings who came downstream (?) from inland, and their dynasty ended with Y. D. Marhum Besar; he was the last king to possess the country of Patani").

Adapun ³ yang dikatakan orang darah putih itu, asal darah putih itu Nang Mahaceri,⁴ dan Nang Mahaceri ⁴ itu beranakkan Nang Lut Kau ⁵ dan Nang Lut Kau ^{5a} itu pun darah putih juga. Adapun puteri didalam buih itu namanya puteri Kapuwaqku,⁶ timang-timangan Nang Mahaceri;^{4a} dan yang laki-laki itu keluar dari dalam buluh betung, maka dinamai oléh Paya Si Lin Paya An Tiwa',⁷ timang-timangannya Alung Betung. Maka diperlaki-isterikan Alung Betung itu dengan Nang Mahaceri.^{4a} Dan putus silsilah raja yang turun dari hulu kepada Cau Paya Si Lin; Cau Paya An Tiwa' ⁸ itulah kata segala ra'ayat raja yang turun dari kayangan, dan yang berdaulat pun anak cucu raja itulah, dan yang empunya ⁹ negeri Patani itu pun anak cucu Cau Paya An Tiwa' itulah.¹⁰ Dan putus silsilah Cau Paya An Tiwa' itulah ^{10a} Marhum Besar inilah.³

BAHAGIAN II

23.

Sebermula ada seorang asal anak Raja Kalantan duduk di Teluk, Raja Bakal namanya, maka Raja Bakal itulah ditabalkan orang. Itulah asal anak raja-raja Kalantan yang kerajaan di Patani ini. Maka mangkat

3-3 The final paragraph in B reads as follows: Adapun yang dikatakan orang tua-tua darah putih itulah asal darah putih Nang Mahac-r-y, dan Nang Mahac-r-y itulah beranakkan Nang Lum-t Kau, dan Nang Lum-t Kau itu pun berdarah putih juga. Adapun asal puteri keluar didalam buih namanya puteri K-p-w-q-k-n, dan timang-timangan Mahac-r-y; dan yang laki-laki itu keluar didalam buluh betung, maka namanya q-y-a-y s-y l-y-n q-y-a a-n-t-y-w-a dan timang-timangan Alung Betung. Maka diperlaki-isterikannya dengan Nang Mahac-r-y, maka putus silsilah raja yang hilir dari hulu itu. Maka itulah dikatakan oléh sekalian ra'ayat raja itulah yang turun diatas kayangan dan yang sangat berdaulat itu pun anak cucu raja itulah, dan yang empunya nama negeri Patani itu pun anak cucunya Cau q-y-a s-y l-y-n Cau p-y-a' a-n-t-y-w-a itulah ("Now as for what is called the 'White Blood' by the old people, it goes back in origin to Nang Mahacer(a)i; and N.M. had a child Nang Lum.t Kau, who also had white blood. As for the origin of the princess who came out of the foam, her name was princess K-p-w-q-k-n, her pet name being Nang Mahacer(a)i; as for the man who came out of the large bamboo, he was called Paya Si Lin Paya Antiwa, and his pet name was Alung Betung. He was married to Nang Mahacer(a)i, and the dynasty of the kings who came down from inland came to an end. And he was called by all the people the king who came down from (?) heaven, and it was his descendants who possessed great majesty; and those who possessed the land of Patani were the descendants of this same Cau Paya Si Lin Cau Paya Antiwa").

⁴ and ^{4a} n-ng m-h-a-c-r-y.

⁶ and ^{6a} sic (vocalized).

⁶ sic (vocalized).

⁷ p-y-a s-y l-y-n p-y-a a-n t-y-w-a'.

⁸ c-w p-y-a s-y l-y-n c-w p-y-a a-n t-y-w-a.

⁹ a-m-p-w-n.

¹⁰ and ^{10a} c-w p-y-a a-n t-y-w-a-y-t-w-l-h.

- 75 Raja Bakal itu / dipanggil orang Marhum Teluk. Maka disambut pula seorang anak Raja Kalantan, Raja Emas Kalantan namanya. Maka Raja Emas Kalantan itulah ditabalkan orang pula mengganti kerajaan Marhum Teluk itu. Mangkat Raja Emas Kalantan itu dipanggil orang Marhum Kalantan. Maka kepada masa Marhum Kalantan kerajaan itulah baharu sekali perahu datuk-datuk Kalantan itu sampai berlabuh masuk ke Jambatan Kedi. Dahulunya tiada pernah diberi masuk, yang tempat labuhan segala orang Kalantan itu di teluk Tanjung, Tuk Akut ¹ itulah tempatnya segala perahu orang Kalantan yang pergi datang ke Patani ini.

Arakian maka disambut pula oléh segala menteri anak raja Kalantan, Raja Emas Jayam ² namanya, maka ditabalkan menggantikan kerajaan Marhum Kalantan itu. Maka tatkala ia diatas takhta kerajaan itu ia menamai dirinya Baginda. Setelah berapa lamanya maka Baginda pun dima^culkan oléh Datuk Bendahara Katarab ³ dengan Datuk Wang Kabudal ⁴ dan Raja Laksamana Dajang.⁵ Maka Datuk Bendahara dan Datuk Wang dan Raja Laksamana pun berbicara hendak merajakan Raja Bendang Badan ⁶ pula. Maka pada masa itu tiada ia mau dirajakan.

- Sebermula adapun asalnya Raja Putera itu anak raja Kedah pada zaman Acéh mengalahkan Kedah. Maka banyaklah segala orang Kedah itu lari ke Patani. Hatta antara berapa lamanya Raja Putera itu duduk di Patani maka Nang Kebun nénék Tuk Alung Cang pun ⁷ berguru kepada Raja Putera itu dari pada ^cilmu hakikat. Maka ada seorang hambanya Nang Kebun itu Sulung ⁸ namanya. Maka Sulung itu pun Nang Kebun berikan Raja Putera; dengan demikian itu Sulung itu pun dipakai oléh Raja Putera itu, beranak seorang perempuan. Maka dinamainya oléh Raja Putera anakanda baginda itu Raja Déwi.⁹ Maka Raja Déwi itulah dirajakan pula menggantikan kerajaan Baginda itu. Tatkala ia / diatas takhta kerajaan dipanggil orang Pera'cau. Setelah sembilan tahun lamanya Pera'cau diatas takhta kerajaan itu, maka Pera'cau pun mema^culkan dirinya turun ke rumah Datuk Wang ke Balai Empat.
- 76

75 ¹ sic (vocalized).

² j-a-y-m.

³ k-t-a-r-b.

⁴ k-y-w-d-l. See p. 38 and Budal, p. 85, however.

⁵ d-a-j-ng, this name is spelt d-a-j-ng and d-a-c-ng alternatively; once it is spelt d-a-c-w-ng.

⁶ b-n-d-ng b-d-a-n (see 73, 1).

⁷ n-ng k-b-w-n n-n-y-q t-w' a-l-w-ng c-ng p-w-n.

⁸ s-w-l-ng.

⁹ d-w-y.

Maka Raja Bendang Badan ¹ yang bernama Raja Kab ² itu pun dikuat oléh Datuk Katarab ³ dengan Datuk Wang dan Raja Laksamana, disambut di Bendang Badan dibawa hilir, ditabalkan ganti Raja Benderung ⁴ itu pula. Maka tatkala ia diatas takhta kerajaan maka ia menamai dirinya Paduka Syah 'Alam. Adapun tatkala Paduka Syah 'Alam diatas takhta kerajaan antara empat tahun lamanya maka ia pun dima'zulkan oléh Raja Laksamana. Maka pada masa itulah Datuk Tarab pun dima'zulkan dari pada bendahara dihantarkan beri duduk ke Kalantan. Dan pada masa itulah bentara Wan Dagang pun ⁵ dibunuh oléh Raja Laksamana dengan Cah Pelinggam ⁶ hamba raja dalam. Maka Raja Laksamana pun kerajaanlah di Dajang, ⁷ sebelas bulan lamanya. Pada tahun lembu pada sepuluh hari bulan Muharram pada hari Jum'at lalu berkelahi dengan Datuk Kun Pangkalan Pauh ⁸ dan Raja Sai. Maka Raja Dajang ⁹ pun lari ke Sanggora lalu dibawa Siam mari pula ke Patani. Maka tiada disampaikan Allah ta'ala kehendaknya itu, lalu undur duduk di Cansik ¹⁰ berbuat negeri di Nanggim. ¹¹

Hatta antara berapa lamanya maka Nang Puteri isteri Yang Diper-tuan Dajang ⁷ itu pun sakit lalu hilang. Maka Raja yang boléh yang membawa ke Du'rak ¹² kuburkan. Selang dua tahun lamanya maka Raja Dajang pun sakit pula lalu hilang. Maka Datuk Pujutlah pergi ambil dari Cansik ¹³ mari kuburkan ke Du'rak pula.

Bermula tatkala Raja Dajang lari ke Sanggora itu Datuk Tarab pun disambut oléh Datuk Pangkalan Pauh dari Kalantan bawa pulang Patani menjadi bendahara pula. Dan Tuk Raja Ambang ¹⁴ pun mari dari
 77 Kedah dengan anak isterinya / duduk bersama-sama dengan Datuk Tarab. Maka Datuk Tarab pun berbicara dengan Datuk Kun Keluang Nangka ¹ merajakan Baginda itu pula di Jambu. ² Setelah berapa lamanya Baginda diatas takhta kerajaan maka Baginda pun gering lalu mangkat dibawa ke Teluk dikuburkan.

24.

Hatta antara berapa lamanya maka Alung Yunus pula kerajaan di Air Lilih ³ sebelas bulan lamanya. Maka tatkala ia diatas takhta kerajaan

76 ¹ see 75, 6.

³ see 75, 3.

⁵ d-a-g-ng p-w-n.

⁷ d-a-j-ng.

⁹ d-a-c-u-ng.

¹¹ n-ng-gim.

¹³ c-n-s-k (cf. 76, 10).

77 ¹ k-w-n k-l-w-ng n-ng-k.

³ a-y-r l-y-l-h.

² sic.

⁴ b-n-d-r-w-ng.

⁶ c-h p-l-ng-g-m.

⁸ k-w-n p-ng-k-a-l-n p-a-w-h.

¹⁰ c-n-s-q (cf. 76, 13).

¹⁴ a-m-b-ng.

¹² sic (vocalized).

² j-m-b-w.

itu dipanggil orang Yang Dipertuan, dan ialah yang berbuat mesjid di bandar itu dan mesjid itu pun istana Raja Dajang buat asalnya didalam negeri. Maka dirombak bawa ke bandar dijadikan mesjid. Maka pada masa itulah Sayyid ʿAbdullah pun datang dari Terengganu. Adapun Sayyid ʿAbdullah itu dari pada anak cucu rasul Allah, Bait-almukaddas nama negerinya, dan Haji Yunus itu Jawi Patani asalnya dan Syaikh ʿAbdulkadir itu asalnya orang Pasai dan Haji ʿAbdurrahman itu asalnya orang Jawa, turun dari haj ia beristeri di Patani ini. Adapun Fakih ʿAbdulmannan itu orang Minangkabau datang dari Kedah, ia beristeri di Pujut. Maka sekalian datuk-datuk itulah yang membicarakan kesakitan raʿyat Patani itu dengan hukum Allah yang tersebut didalam kitab Allah. Maka segala raʿyat dalam bandar Patani itu pun sangatlah senang sentosanya pada masa itu. Maka nama Yang Dipertuan pun masyhurlah lantas sampai pada negeri Barat dan Timur.

78 Maka sekonyong-konyong datang dengan dikehendaki Allah subhanahu wataʿala melakukan atas hambanya, maka Yang Dipertuan pun menghimpunkan segala raʿyat bala tenteranya dengan segala datuk pahlawan dibawa[h]nya angkat perang, pergi / melanggar Datuk Pangkalan Pauh, lalu bertikam seketika, maka Yang Dipertuan pun sudah sampai ajal bilangannya. Maka dibedil oléh Datuk Pangkalan Pauh sama diatas gajah dengan istinggar, lalu kena dadanya, maka Yang Dipertuan rebah lalu hilang diatas gajah itu. Adapun Datuk Pangkalan Pauh itu saudara tua dari pada Yang Dipertuan, bundanya juga lain dan Raja Sai itu pun saudara tua juga dan Datuk Pujut itu pun saudara juga, tetapi pada masa itu Datuk Pujut lagi sakit sangat, tiada boléh membicarakan dia dan Raja Sai tiada sempat hilir; dan Alung Tarab¹ itu pun saudara tua juga kepada Yang Dipertuan, tetapi ia itu orang baik bangun sahaja, bicaranya sangat kurang membicarakan adik kakak, melainkan diri dengan dirinya itulah sahaja.

Maka tatkala sudah dikuburkan Yang Dipertuan itu di Pujut maka negeri Patani pun tiadalah beraja lagi sampai pada masa sekarang itulah. Maka negeri Patani pun sangatlah haru-haranya dan segala raʿyat pun banyak kesakitan dan ʿadat tertib pun sudah tiada, melainkan perintah Allah subhanahu wataʿala juga yang ke hadapan itu tiada dapat segala makhluk mengetahui dia.

[Adapun tanda orang yang bertuah itu adalah atas dua perkara: pertamanya ʿamal yang baik dibawa mati dan nama yang baik ditinggalkan didalam dunia ini].

BAHAGIAN III

25.

79 Syahdan tatkala Marhum Tambangan diatas takhta kerajaan itu Bendahara Kayu Kelat memerintahkan negeri, dan tatkala bendahara itu hendak durhaka tiada jadi itu lalu ia mudik ke Sai tiadalah hilir lagi; dan mati bendahara itu pun didalam kerajaan / Marhum Tambangan juga; dan mangkat Marhum Tambangan Marhum Tengah kerajaan, Bendahara Angkerah ¹ jadi bendahara dan iaitulah anak Jawa bangsa sultan Mataram . . . kepada Marhum Bungsu, dan mati Bendahara Angkerah ¹ didalam kerajaan Marhum Tengah juga, dan ayah Datuk Terenam pula dijadikan bendahara, dan mangkat Marhum Tengah Marhum Pahang kerajaan, mati bendahara ayah Datuk Terenam itu dalam kerajaan Marhum Pahang, dan Datuk Sakur pula dijadikan bendahara; dan mangkat Marhum Pahang Marhum Besar kerajaan, dan mati Datuk Sakur itu dalam kerajaan Marhum Besar, dan Datuk Terenam pula dijadikan bendahara; dan mangkat Marhum Besar Marhum Teluk kerajaan, dan mati Datuk Terenam didalam kerajaan Marhum Teluk, dan Datuk Dipera' ² dijadikan bendahara, dan mangkat Marhum Teluk Marhum Kalantan kerajaan, dan mati Datuk Dipera' ³ didalam kerajaan Marhum Kalantan, dan Datuk Sai pula dijadikan bendahara. Dan pada zaman Marhum Kalantan kerajaan itulah segala orang besar-besar Patani yang banyak berebut ⁴ jadi bendahara dan bendaharanya pun banyak. Dan mati Datuk Sai Datuk Bangsia ⁵ pula jadi bendahara, dan Bendahara Tuk Tua pun masa itu juga, dan Kempul Setar ⁶ jadi bendahara ⁷ tujuh hari, maka Datuk Tanah Mérah pun terbit dari Siam. Maka Datuk Tanah Mérahlah jadi bendahara. Dan mangkat Marhum Kalantan Baginda kerajaan, mati Datuk Tanah Mérah didalam kerajaan Baginda, dan Datuk Bangrekam ⁸ dijadikan bendahara, dan mati Datuk Bangrekam ⁸ itu didalam kerajaan Baginda juga, dan dijadikan Datuk Tarab ⁹ pula bendahara sampai sekarang
80 / inilah, tiada bendahara yang lain lagi.

Dan pada zaman Marhum Teluk diatas takhta kerajaanlah yang

79 ¹ a-ng-k-r-h.² d-q-r-a, but see p. 83, 4.³ d-q-r-a'.⁴ b-r-b-w-t (berbuat?!).⁵ b-ng-y-a, but see 83, 6.⁶ k-n(or p?)-p-w-l s-t-r. See p. 86 k-m-p-l.⁷ A *d* is written above the line between *bendahara* and *tujuh* — read *bendahara, ada tujuh*.⁸ b-ng-r-k-m.⁹ t-a-r-b.

berubah-ubah adat tertib yang telah lalu dan hasil negeri pun tiadalah dengan dikaruniai raja lagi, barang sekehendak hati segala menteri pun berlakulah, karena tiada siapa yang mendirikan adat yang telah lalu itu lagi, makin kebawah makin bertambahlah kurangnya karena dunia sudah la^cnat al-zaman.

BAHAGIAN IV

26.

Syahdan diriwayatkan oléh segala orang tua-tua, sedang masa Marhum Bungsu diatas takhta kerajaan, maka sekonyong-konyong datang sebuah <jung> dari Cekeram¹ mari ke Patani, Cau Hang² namanya mari itu dengan anak bininya dan hamba sahayanya. Setelah sampai ke Patani maka syahbandar pun masuk mengadap Duli Yang Dipertuan Marhum Bungsu, sembah syahbandar: "Daulat Tuanku, patik mohonkan ampun, bahwa ada sebuah jung datang dari Cekeram; ia mengatakan bahwa mau³ gajah." Maka titah Marhum suruh panggil orang itu. Maka Cau Hang pun masuk mengadap Marhum dibawa oléh syahbandar. Maka titah Paduka Marhum: "Sungguhkah engkau bahwa mau³ gajah?" Maka sembah Cau Hang: "Daulat Tuanku, dapat patik menjinakkan barang kadarnya." Maka titah Marhum: "Baiklah, aku hendak suruh jinakkan anak gajah aku ini." Maka Cau Hang pun jinakkanlah gajah itu, dengan tiada berapa lamanya maka gajah itu pun jinaklah. Hatta dengan demikian maka Cau Hang itu pun disuruh oléh Marhum pergi duduk ke Cerak Kin.⁴ Hatta berapa lamanya Cau Hang duduk di Cerak Kin itu maka segala tanah hutan dan tanah bendang dan bukit itu pun dikarunia [oléh] / oléh Paduka Marhum putus datang kepada anak cucu Cau Hang itu; kerjanya Cau Hang itu meliharakan kawan gajah kelung¹ itulah.

Hatta maka Cau Hang pun beranakan Nang Kam² seorang dan <Nang> Embak³ seorang dan anak laki-laki itu namanya Alung Bu' An⁴ seorang. Maka anaknya dengan gundik itu dua orang, Nang Pu'⁵ seorang <, Tiba seorang>. Maka Alung Jinak⁶ yang duduk di Dana⁷

80 ¹ c-k-r-m (passim).

² c-w-h-ng (passim).

³ m-a-w.

⁴ c-r-q-k-n, but later on regularly spelt c-r-q-k-y-n.

81 ¹ k-l-w-ng.

² k-m (in this and the following names *nang*, *wan*, *alung* are not transliterated; the same name is transliterated only once unless it is spelt in different ways). For some emendations in this section, see Chapter VI.

³ a-m-b-q.

⁴ b-w' 'a-n.

⁵ n-w-ng p-w', but see 82, 6 and 10 n-ng.

⁶ j-y-n-q (or j-n-y-q).

⁷ d-y-d-a-n.

itu beranak laki-laki seorang namanya Alung Tiba.⁸ Maka Alung Tiba itu berbinikan Nang Embak,⁹ maka Nang Embak⁹ itu beranak lima, perempuan dua, laki-laki tiga; anak yang tua itu Nang Pu Seri¹⁰ namanya, anak yang tengah seorang perempuan¹¹ Nang But¹² namanya dan anak yang laki-laki itu seorang Alung Seri 'Ain¹³ namanya, seorang lagi Alung An¹⁴ namanya, seorang lagi yang bungsu itu Alung Cirat¹⁵ namanya. Maka Nang Puteri itu beranak enam orang, Alung Kung¹⁶ seorang dan Alung Tun¹⁷ seorang dan Alung Sipu¹⁸ seorang, Nang Tung¹⁹ seorang, Nang Dam²⁰ seorang, Nang Sun²¹ seorang. Nang But²² seorang itu tiada beranak. Dan Alung Seri 'Ain itu dikaruniai nama Kanjang²³ Seri Rama. Maka Kanjang Seri Rama itu beranak tujuh orang, yang laki-laki seorang namanya Alung Kasar,²⁴ yang perempuan namanya Nang Sib²⁵ seorang, Nang Kasri²⁶ seorang, Nang Bakal²⁷ seorang, Wan Cina seorang, Wan Jadi²⁸ seorang, Nang Perasyi²⁹ seorang. Alung An bendahara Cerak Kin³⁰ itu beranak³¹ sembilan: Nang Ci'³² seorang, Nang Rat³³ seorang, Nang Mah³⁴ seorang, Nang Pérak seorang, yang laki-laki Alung Tunggu³⁵ seorang, Alung Tiba³⁶ seorang, Alung San³⁷ seorang, Cau Nui <seorang>, Perom³⁸ seorang, Nang Subah³⁹ seorang. Anak Alung Cirat⁴⁰ itu Nang Kaq⁴¹ seorang, Nung Hawa⁴² seorang, Nang Pah⁴³ seorang, anak yang laki-laki / Alung Mu¹ seorang, Alung Cang² seorang, Alung Seri³ seorang, Alung Alai⁴ seorang siam.⁵

⁸ t-y-b.⁹ a-m-b-q.¹⁰ p-w s-r-y.¹¹ the MS. reads *laki*², which is an obvious error.¹² b-w-t.¹³ s-r-y c-y-n.¹⁴ a-n.¹⁵ j-y-r-t.¹⁶ k-w-ng.¹⁷ t-w-n.¹⁸ s-y-p-w.¹⁹ t-w-ng.²⁰ d-m.²¹ s-w-n.²² b-w-t.²³ k-n-j-ng.²⁴ k-a-s-r.²⁵ s-y-b.²⁶ k-s-r-y.²⁷ b-a-k-l.²⁸ d-a-n j-a-d-y.²⁹ p-r-a-sy-y.³⁰ c-r-q-k-y-n.³¹ MS. *seorang* instead of *beranak*!³² c-y'.³³ n-ng-r-t.³⁴ m-h.³⁵ t-w-ng-w.³⁶ t-y-b.³⁷ s-n.³⁸ j-w-n-w-y p-r-w-m.³⁹ s-w-b-h.⁴⁰ c-y-r-t.⁴¹ k-q.⁴² n-w-ng h-w-y.⁴³ p-h.82 ¹ m-w.² c-ng.³ s-r-y.⁴ a-l-y.⁵ s-y-m.

Dan anak Nang Pu' ⁶ itu tiga <orang> laki-laki, pertama Cau Tang ⁷ seorang, Cau Nui ⁸ seorang, itu tiada beranak dan Cau Ajai ⁹ seorang [anak Nang Pu' ¹⁰ itu tiga orang laki-laki]. Dan <Cau> Ajai seorang itu [itu] tiada beranak. Yang anak Cau Tang ¹¹ itu Cau Hang ¹² namanya; anak Cau Hang pula dua: Wan Banun ¹³ seorang, Wan Pun ¹⁴ seorang, perempuan keduanya. Yang anak Cau Nui itu lima, pertama Wan Sulung ¹⁵ seorang, Wan Mi' ¹⁶ seorang, Wan Tijah ¹⁷ seorang, Wan Serah ¹⁸ seorang, Wan Bagus ¹⁹ seorang. Yang anak Wan Sulung itu tiga: Wan Selam ²⁰ seorang, Wan Du' ²¹ seorang. Yang anak Wan Mi' itu dua: Alung Ngah ²² seorang, Nang Tung ²³ seorang. Wan Tijah seorang itu tiada beranak. Yang anak Wan Serah itu enam orang: Nang But ²⁴ seorang, Nang Pu ²⁵ seorang, Wan Mi' ²⁶ seorang, Wan Su ²⁷ seorang, Wan Delah ²⁸ seorang, Wan Jamal ²⁹ seorang. Yang anak Wan Bagus itu dua orang: Wan Kamar ³⁰ seorang, Wan Jura ³¹ seorang.

Yang anak Tiba itu dua: Cau Pekang ³² seorang, Cau Ngam ³³ seorang. Maka Cau Pekang ³⁴ itu beranak dua: Cau Rat ³⁵ seorang, Cau Dai ³⁶ seorang. Yang anak Cau Ngam itu empat, perempuan keempatnya, Cau Bu ³⁷ seorang, Cau Setia ³⁸ seorang, Cau Wati ³⁹ seorang, Cau Ngah ⁴⁰ seorang.

27.

Bermula sedang masa Datuk Cerak Kin jadi bendahara ⁴¹ itulah menaruh pencurat ⁴² empat puluh; yang ada hadir dua puluh dibawah datuk bendahara itu malam siang, dan pergi mencari makan duapuluh

⁶ p-w.⁸ c-w-n-w-y.¹⁰ p-w.¹¹ c-w-n-w-y. This is an obvious mistake for Cau Tang.¹² c-w-h-ng.¹⁴ p-w-n.¹⁶ m-y'.¹⁸ s-r-h.²⁰ s-l-a-m.²² ng-h.²⁴ b-w-t.²⁶ m-y'.²⁸ d-l-h.³⁰ q-m-r.³² j-w-p-k-ng.³⁴ c-w-p-k-ng.³⁶ j-w-d-y.³⁸ c-w-s-t-y.⁴⁰ c-w-ng-h.⁴² p-n-c-w-r-t (but see also 43.3; 45.2).⁷ c-w-t-ng.⁹ c-w-a-j-y.¹³ b-a-n-w-n.¹⁵ s-w-l-ng.¹⁷ t-y-j-h.¹⁹ b-a-g-s.²¹ d-w'.²³ sic.²⁵ p-w.²⁷ s-w.²⁹ j-a-m-l.³¹ j-w-r-a.³³ c-w-ng-m.³⁵ c-w-r-t.³⁷ c-w-b-w.³⁹ c-w-a w-a-t-y.⁴¹ bendahari!

orang. Maka apabila sampai tiga bulan juga, maka sampailah gilirannya orang duapuluh itu pula hadhir mengadap datuk bendahara. Maka
 83 yang dua puluh / itu pergilah pula mencari ke daérah negeri Kedah dan Merdelang ¹ dan Sanggora, itulah tempat pencariannya orang empat puluh itu. Adapun dalam empat puluh orang itu ada dua orang yang terlebih dari pada semuanya, maka dijadikan penglima oléh Datuk Cerak Kin, seorang bernama ‘Abdulfakar dan seorang bernama ‘Abduljalil.

Kepada masa itulah dalam daérah negeri Patani sangat senang dan sentosanya segala ra^cyat. Jikalau [tiada] datang dari pada berlayar, tatkala sampai perahu itu ke labuhan bandar Patani ini tiadalah lagi ditunggu perahu di labuhan itu. Jikalau jenis emas pérak sekalipun tiadalah siapa-siapa yang mengambil dia.

Bermula jikalau segala ra^cyat daérah daratan itu atau Lup Cap ² dan Lembang di Bendang ³ atau barang sebagainya, maka tatkala tuannya teringat dicaharinya tiada bertemu, maka ia pun hilir dengan persembahnya mengadap datuk bendahara. Maka ‘Abdulfakar dengan ‘Abduljalil itulah yang disuruh mudik memeriksai segala barang harta orang yang hilang itu. Demikianlah halnya pada masa itu, segala ra^cyat Patani pun sangatlah kesukaan dan senangnya; dari pada laki-laki dan perempuan pun semuanya meminta do^a akan Datuk Cerak Kin minta selamat datang kepada segala anak cucunya menjadi orang besar dalam negeri Patani ini.

BAHAGIAN V

28.

Bermula pertama jadi bendahara itu Datuk Sakur, sudah Datuk Sâkur Datuk Terenam, sudah Datuk Terenam Datuk Dipera’,⁴ sudah Datuk Dipera’ Datuk Bangrekam. Maka Datuk Bangrekam itu lamanya tujuh hari jadi bendahara maka berebutlah ⁵ Datuk Sai dengan Datuk Bangsia.⁶ Maka Datuk Sai pun mudik ke Sai, maka Datuk Sai suruh Tuk
 84 Tua ⁷ dengan orangkaya / Seri Bijaya ¹ Indera dengan Seri Deriya ² mendayakan ³ Datuk Bangsia. Maka Tuk Tua pergi sambut Raja Men-

83 ¹ m-r-d-l-ng.

² l-w-p-c-p.

³ l-m-b-ng d-b-n-d-ng.

⁴ d-p-r-a’.

⁵ b-w-b-w-tlah.

⁶ b-ng-s-y-a-h also spelt y-ng s-y, y-ng s-y-a, y-ng-s-y-a-h.

⁷ This name is most frequently spelt t-w-h, sometimes t-w-a, and once t-w-h-a.

84 ¹ s-b-y-j-y.

² d-r-y-a.

³ m-n-d-y-a-k-n.

delang m-m-k-w-n kasut ⁴ bawa' ⁵ mari ke istana jadi raja. Maka Raja Mendelang pun bertitah suruh pergi minta bendahara kepada Datuk Bangsaia. Maka tiada diberinya oléh Datuk Bangsaia, maka lalu dilanggarnya, maka Datuk Bangsaia pun matilah, maka Raja Mendelang pun jadi rajalah, Tuk Tua pun jadi bendaharalah.

Kepada masa itu Pera' Pempan ⁶ jadi Raja Kalantan. Tiga bulan lamanya maka Datuk Sai pun menghimpunkan segala ra'cyat dan minta tolong kepada Raja Sanggora, lalu dilanggarnya Tuk Tua maka Tuk Tua pun alah. Maka Seri Deriya pun dibunuh Seri Bijaya ⁷ Indera di Kudang.⁸ Maka tiada berapa lamanya maka Tuk Tua dengan Pera' Pempan pun masuk ikut Jamban Rama,⁹ lalu berkelahi, maka orang-kaya Tua pun luka kena bedil diatas rung.¹⁰ Maka Pera' Pempan luka kena bedil di rumah payang ¹¹ lalu kelib ¹² ke rumah.

Pada keésokan harinya lalu Datuk Sai membedil-bedil dari dalam Kota Wang ke rumah Tuk Tua. Maka Tuk Tua dengan Pera' Pempan pun lari ke Sanggora, kemudian lalu ke Terengganu taruh anak perempuan di Terengganu itu, lalu pergi ke Johor, kelib dari Johor duduk di Terengganu pula. Maka tatkala itu Raja Benua Siam pun suruh mari panggil Pera' Pempan dengan Tuk Tua itu <di>gelar Pera' Tanang,¹³ maka Pera' Pempan masa itulah digelar Pera' Pempan. Maka sekira-kira ada selang tujuh tahun maka Raja Benua Siam pun disuruh Pera' Pempan dengan Tuk Tua datang ke Patani lalu bunuh Datuk Sai. Maka Tuk Tua pun jadi bendahara pula, Pera' Pempan jadi Wang.

85 Ada selang dua tahun maka Alung / Cang ¹ mari dengan Siam bedil Tuk Tua pula. Maka Tuk Tua pun lari ke Sanggora pula, maka Alung Cang pun duduk didalam negeri itu sekira-kira himmat empat lima bulan. Maka Tuk Tua pun bertemu dengan Datuk Budal ² mari di Sanggora, maka Raja Sanggora pun diélat ³ Tuk Tua dengan Datuk Budal datang langgar Alung Cang didalam kota itu. Maka ada himmat empat lima bulan maka Pera' Penjir ⁴ mari kerasi Alung Cang bawa masuk ke Siam. Maka Tuk Tua dengan Datuk Budal pun masuklah kedalam negeri. Maka Tuk Tua pun jadi bendahara pula.

⁴ m-m-k-w-n k-a-s-w-t.

⁵ b-a-w'.

⁶ in this place p-m-p-y-n, but all following occurrences are without y: p-m-p-n.

⁷ b-y-j-y.

⁸ k-w-d-ng.

⁹ j-m-b-n r-a-m.

¹⁰ r-w-ng.

¹¹ p-a-y-ng.

¹² k-l-y-b.

¹³ t-a-n-ng, see 87, 8.

85 ¹ c-ng.

² b-w-d-l.

³ d-a-l-t.

⁴ This name is spelt in different ways on this and the next page: p-j-t-y-r-t, p-n-j-y-r-t p-n-c-y-n-y-r-t, p-j-y-r-t.

Ada berapa selangnya maka Tuk Tua bersalahan hati dengan Datuk Budal, maka Tuk Tua suruh mari Siam. Maka marilah penglimanya Pera' Penjirat. Maka pada masa itulah Kedang ⁵ pun binasa. Maka Tuk Tua pun dibawa ke Siam pula masuk.

Maka mari Aya Wang ⁶ memerintahkan Patani. Masa itulah Cau Nang ⁷ dan Alung Nang ⁸ dan Wan Amat ⁸ dua beradik Tuk Bandar ⁹ dan Tuk Rembang ⁹ masuk ke Siam. Kemudian dari itu maka mari Pera' Picai ¹⁰ memerintahkan Patani. Maka Pera' Pat ¹¹ Picai gelar Raja Pulau Malaka jadi bendahara. Maka Pera' Pat Picai pun buat haru-biru akan orang Patani. Maka Datuk Imam Muda dengan Datuk Bendahara Tabiji ¹² muwafakat langgar Pera' Pat Picai dengan Aya Wang dan Mum ¹³ Raja Itam. Maka jadi peranglah Siam lalu pulang. Maka mari pula Pera' Penjirat dengan Tuk Nahwa, ¹⁴ lalu masuk Kuala Jambu, Pera' Penjirat masuk ke Sungai Deling ¹⁵ dengan Tuk Dajang. ¹⁶ Kepada masa itu Tuk Dajang lagi jadi Alung Surin ¹⁷ itu pun tiadalah lalu kelib. Maka Pera' Pempan pun ¹⁸ lari mari dari Pempan, maka Pera' Penjirat dan Tuk Pera' Caya ¹⁹ pun mari pula menyerang Patani masuk / Kuala Bekah, ¹ <di>tunggunya Kuala Bekah maka Tuk Pera' Caya ² pun mati, matinya dibawa pulang ke Caya. Maka Pera' Penjirat pun pulanglah, maka Raja Bendahara pun kelib ke Kalantan lalu ditangkap ia bawa di pekan ³ turun hendak ambil air sembahyang waktu subuh.

Kemudian dari itu Datuk Kempul ⁴ jadi bendahara pula, maka Pera' Penjirat pun mari pula dengan Alung Cang dan Datuk Tanah Mérah dan Datuk Bendahara dan Datuk Dajang mari sama-sama dengan Pera' Penjirat. Maka Tuk Paduka Maharaja pun lari ke Terengganu, maka Pera' Pempan pun lari sampaikan Tun, ⁵ maka dibunuh disitulah ketiga beranakanya, kepalanya ditendas bawa' kepada Pera' Penjirat. Maka pada masa itu Datuk Pujut jadi Laksamana, Datuk Raja Kadhi jadi Wang lari ke Besut, ⁶ Datuk Pujut lari ke Terengganu. Maka Datuk Kempul pecatlah dari pada bendahara.

⁵ k-d-ng. See 84, 8?

⁷ c-w-n-ng.

⁸ r-m-b-ng.

¹¹ p-t (or p-t-h?).

¹³ m-w-m.

¹⁵ d-l-y-ng.

¹⁷ s-w-r-y-n.

¹⁹ j-a-y; but see 86, 2.

¹ b-k-h.

³ b-a-w-a-d-p-k-n.

⁵ t-w-n.

⁶ a-y-a-w-ng.

⁸ a-m-t.

¹⁰ p-y-c-y.

¹² t-a-b-y-j-y.

¹⁴ n-h-w.

¹⁶ d-a-c-ng.

¹⁸ p-m-p-y-n.

² c-a-y.

⁴ k-m-p-l.

⁶ b-s-w-t.

Maka Datuk Tanah Mérah pun jadi bendahara pula. Maka masa itulah Tuk Raja Imam dan Datuk Kencang ⁷ dan Datuk Kun ⁸ rebut Datuk Tanah Mérah dari pada Siam bawa ke Jeram.⁹ Maka masa itu Datuk Bendahara terkejut disangkanya orang hendak kencang.¹⁰ Kemudian maka Datuk pun tahulah akan orang hendak rebut kepada Siam. Maka Datuk Bendahara pun terbit keluar pintu gerbang melarang Datuk Dajang. Maka Tuk Dajang dengan Pera' Penjirat pun sampai ke Kar Saik Tu';¹¹ tengah jalan lalu maka berhenti sebentar lalu kelib ke Kuala Bekah lalu pulang ke Siam. Maka berapa lamanya Datuk Tanah Mérah suruh orang pergi sambut Mau' An Tung ¹² dengan isteri Datuk Bendahara maka Tuk Dajang pun mari bersama-sama. Maka himmat setahun atau lebih maka Marhum Kalantan pun / mangkat. Masa itu Tuk Pujut jadi laksamana, Datuk Raja Kadhi jadi Seri Paduka Tuan dan Wan Mesang ¹ jadi bentara kanan. Dan Tuk Tanah Mérah suruh pergi sambut Baginda dengan Raja Nang But ² jadi Raja Muda. Maka ada himmat dua tahun atau tiga tahun Datuk Tanah Mérah pun sakit lalu hilang. Maka Datuk Bendahara Tarab ³ inilah jadi bendahara hingga Siam datang. Baginda pun berangkat ke Taradih.⁴

Sebermula diriwayatkan orang, pada masa itu Datuk Sai jadi bendahara duduk di hulu Kampung Kulik ⁵ Puka ke Bendang ⁵ naik gajah, lalu ke sungai mandi, tergelincir diatas gajah maka negelebat ⁶ kaki, lalu pulang ke Berhala. Ada himmat setahun maka Siam pun mari ke Patani, penglimanya Tuk Tua dengan Pera' Caya.⁷ Maka yang Tuk Tua itu jadi Pera' Katang ⁸ pulang kerumahnya. Maka yang Tuk Pera' Caya itu naik ke rumah Datuk Sai duduk; begitu juga Pera' Picai dengan Pera' Caya pergi ikut Datuk Sai ke Berhala bawa hilir Datuk Sai ikut Bendang Bakal ⁹ lalu bawa ke Kedi. Maka yang Datuk Sai perempuan Datuk Anak Bukit bawa pergi ke Anak Bukit dan Kencang Handai ¹⁰ pergi ke Kebang Rekam ¹¹ duduk. Ada himmat sejum^cat, maka Kencang Handai pun hilir ke Patani lalu ke istana. Maka yang ada <di> istana itu Pera' Penjirat dan Pera' Caya dengan Tuk Tua. Maka Kencang

⁷ k-n-c-ng.

⁸ k-w-n.

⁹ j-r-m.

¹⁰ k-n-c-ng.

¹¹ k-k-r s-y'-k q(or t?)-w'.

¹² m-a-w' a-n t-w-ng.

87 ¹ m-s-ng.

² n-ng b-w-t.

³ t-r-b.

⁴ k-t-r d-y-l, but see 73, 5.

⁵⁻⁵ k-w-l-y-q p-w-k k-b-n-d-ng.

⁶ n-g-l-b-t.

⁷ two lines, from *dengan Pera' Caya* up to and including *begitu juga Pera' Picai* are written twice consecutively.

⁸ k-a-t-ng, see 84, 13.

⁹ b-n-d-ng b-a-k-l.

¹⁰ k-n-c-ng h-n-d-y. Also k-n-j-ng and k-t-j-ng.

¹¹ k-b-ng r-k-m.

- 88 Handai pun naik ke istana lalu basuh kaki maka ditangkap / orang lalu dibawa' pergi; antara Sian ¹ dengan Balai Kembang ² disalang; disitulah ada himmat orang semur.³ Maka tatkala waktu subuh juga berbunyiilah bedil, dibunuh oranglah Datuk Sai tiga beranak itu. Maka Raja Pasir pun pergi mengadap Pera' Caya minta mayat Datuk Sai itu, maka diberi ambil bawa' ke Tarab Tuk Besar. Maka Ci' Mau Tau ⁴ sembahkan Raja Pasir ⁵ Kencang Handai ditanam oléh orang di Tanjung Lulup.⁶ Maka Raja Pasir pun disuruh orang pergi ambil bawa' kuburkan ke Tarab bersama-sama dengan Datuk Sai sekali.⁷ Maka Raja Kecil anak Pera' Caya pun naik ke rumah Datuk Paduka Tuan.⁸ Sedang masa itu Datuk Paduka Tuan menanggung ⁹ nama bentara kiri. Dan rumah dengan pagarnya sekali dibawa ke kampung Datuk Paduka Tuan Terenam dengan isi rumahnya dan Wan Yu' ¹⁰ jadi s-w-q ¹¹ dan d-w-q ¹² jadi Raja Sai.

Adapun Pera' Pempan itu Wan Anom ¹³ namanya dan Haji Kambak Senin ¹⁴ Raja Sai kakak Wan Anom ¹⁵ dan Wan Bagus ¹⁶ laki Tuk Nang Budal ¹⁷ bungsu sekali. Adapun Datuk Dipera' ^{17a} itu dua beradik dengan bunda Raja Pera' An ¹⁸ dan adik sepupu dengan Datuk Sai. Dan Datuk Anak Bukit tua itu sepupu dengan Datuk Sai. Adapun Dang Jela itu guru Dang Sirat ¹⁹ pengasuh Yang Dipertuan Tua Johor. Dan orang Kampung Nafiri diambil seorang pakai oléh Yang Dipertuan Muda bawa pulang ke Johor beranakkan Raja Ibrahim bapa Marhum yang dibunuh oléh Paduka Seri Rama itu.

BAHAGIAN VI

29.

Adapun ²⁰ pekerjaan perkakas kerajaan itu pedang kerajaan itu pada

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|---|
| 88 | ¹ s-y-n. | ² b-a-l-y k-b-n-d-ng. |
| | ³ s-m-w-r. | ⁴ c-'h m-w t-w. |
| | ⁵ p-a-s-y. | ⁶ t-n-j-ng l-w-l-p. |
| | ⁷ s-k-l. | ⁸ both t-w-n and t-w-a-n are used. |
| | ⁹ m-n-ng-k-ng. | ¹⁰ w-a-n y-w'. |
| | ¹¹ s-w-q. | ¹² d-w-q. |
| | ¹³ a-n-m. | ¹⁴ k-m-b-q s-n-y-n. |
| | ¹⁵ a-n-w-m. | ¹⁶ b-a-k-s. |
| | ¹⁷ n-ng b-w-d-l. | ^{17a} d-q-r-a' see 83, 5. |
| | ¹⁸ b-n-d-a-r-a-j q-r-a'-n. | ¹⁹ d-ng-s-r-t. |

²⁰ B has a passage at the end of section 6 (p. 26) which runs closely parallel to the first paragraph of part VI in A, although the last sentence of A comes first in B. There are also some minor differences. The complete text of this paragraph in B follows below. As both texts are so close no translation of B is added:

Ingat bermula pada masa Sultan Mudhaffar Syah perkakas nobat nafiri emas empat

89 sebilah banyak <emas buat> salutnya itu tigapuluh tahlil. Dan / pedang bentara itu banyak emas tebu-tebu sarungnya itu tengah tigapuluh tahlil pada sebilah. Dan pedang mahat ¹ itu empatpuluh bilah, dan duapuluh berecik ² emas, salut hujung sarungnya itu pun emas, dan duapuluh berecik pérak dan salut hujung sarungnya pun pérak. Dan jogan itu empat ^{2a} bermalai emas, pada satu jogan itu banyak emasnya sekati. Dan lembing benderang itu empatpuluh bilah,³ duapuluh bersampak emas, duapuluh bersampak pérak. Dan nafiri emas empat dan pérak empat butir dan serunai emas dua dan pérak dua butir dan gendang nobat duabelas butir dan nagara delapan butir.

Maka tatkala Datuk ⁴ Marhum Ke Siam itu Marhum Bungsu diatas takhta kerajaan, tatkala inilah segala perkakas nobat itu dipakai setengah sahaja, sebab orangnya banyak kurang. Pada masa itulah kota negeri pun disempitkan mengikut parit yang ditengah negeri sampai sekarang inilah.

Bab ini ragam genderang nobat: pertama adimula ⁵ namanya, demikian bunyinya:⁶ kemetang² kemetitang kar kemetetang kemetang leqat² tipekab nang kemetang kekar kam tepat².

butir dan nafiri pérak empat butir dan serunai emas dua butir dan serunai pérak dua butir dan gendang nobat duabelas butir dan nagara lapan butir, emas pérak sama banyaknya.

Adapun perkakas kerajaan pedang pada sebilah banyak emas buat salut tiga puluh dan pedang betara tengah tiga puluh tahlil pada sebilah dan pedang mahat empat puluh bilah dan dua b-r-c-y emas buat salut ujung sarungnya itu pun emas semuanya dan dua puluh b-r-c-y pérak dan salut ujung sarungnya pérak dan jogan kerajaannya empat bermal(a)i emas dan pada satu-satu jogan itu seketi emas dan lembing b-n-d-r-n empat puluh bersampul emas dan empatpuluh bers-m-p-k pérak demikianlah ini ceteranya.

89 ¹ m-h-a-t.

² b-r-c-y, later on b-r-c-y'. See also B.

^{2a} A s-p-a-h.

³ b-y-l-a.

⁴ t-a-dug.

⁵ a-d-y-m-w-l.

⁶ In the transliteration of the Malay renderings of sounds all final syllables have been provided with the vowel *a*, all other syllables with an *e* unless another vowel was indicated. Nasals followed by stops have been transliterated as consonant clusters rather than separated by *ē*. Word boundaries have been assumed in all cases where the spelling gave no indication to the contrary. Especially in the case of *r* these endings may be arbitrary, as this letter is never joined in the script to a following consonant, not even in the same word. It is quite probable that sequences like *g-r* or *g-r* *g-m* should be read as *geregar*, *geregam*. In these onomatopoeic fragments *angka dua* has been transliterated with the number 2 in view of the uncertain word boundaries. *K* should perhaps be spelt as *g* in all or some of the cases in which it occurs; so far, however, there is no means of deciding whether or not there is a purposeful distinction between *k* and *g*; therefore it was thought best to keep to the distinction made by the MS. A semicolon stands for the heart-shaped sign often used in Malay manuscripts for indicating a pause, filling up a line, etc.

Bab ini membetung⁷ gendang namanya, demikian bunyinya: keme-
titang² gegar kam tetang gar gab tang kar kam kemenangan tit tang kar
kam, maka lalu perang.

Bab ini bujang alulū dalul⁸ namanya, <demikian> bunyinya: kam²
tengkemitang keming kab kar kam kekar kam titang tit tang kam² tepat
tepegar⁹ kamba¹⁰ tenggam².

Bab ini déndéng¹¹ anak namanya, demikian bunyinya: kemitang gegar
kam² titang gar gam² titang gar gam titang²; kam titang kam titang
gam tang kekar kam titang; g-m balik¹² pulang.

90 Bab ini jalin meminang¹³ namanya, demikian bunyinya: / kemetang
kab² kam tepat tepegar kam gar gam tangkim¹ titang tepat tib tepekab
tang gar gam tepegam gam tit ti teqat² tenggar kam gam temitang gar
gam tib tenggar kab tenggar kam; lalu perang.

Bab ini répén² namanya, demikian bunyinya: gam titang² gegar kam
titang gar gam; gam tenggar gam tang gar gab tang gar gam tepat² gam
titang tenggar kab tang² gar gam gar gam titang².

Bab ini orang <.....> namanya: kemitang² gegar³ gam tit tang
gegar kam kemetang titang tengkar kam; gar kam tang tepat tang² gar
kar kam.

Bab ini jaman kembang seri⁴ <namanya>, demikian bunyinya:
kemetang gar gam titang² gar kab tenggar gam, maka dilalukan balik
pulang dan juga m-n-t.⁴

Bab ini raja bayu namanya, demikian bunyinya: kemetang² gar gam
titang tepit² tangtang gar gam gemetang tang ketang² gar gam nang²
gam tang gar gam tang gar gam tang ting tit tang tipekab gar gam
tenggemetepat titang.

Bab ini gita mula⁵ namanya, demikian bunyinya: kemetang² gar gam
gemetang gar gam tepetang tepat ketang gar gam kemetang gar gam
tenggar gam tegetang gar gam tang gar kam² tang gegar kam kam titang
tepekab tenggar gam; gam² tepegam titang tang tit tang.

Bab ini burung di peti namanya, demikian bunyinya: kemetang gam²
tenggam tengtang titang tit tepat tengting.

Bab ini temeti⁶ namanya, demikian bunyinya: kemat tengtang kemat.

⁷ m-m-b-t-ng (m-m-y-t-ng?).

⁹ Or: t-p-b-k-r.

¹¹ d-n-d-y-ng.

¹³ j-a-l-y-n m-m-y-n-ng.

90 ¹ t-ng-k-y-m.

³ g-k-r.

⁵ k-y-t m-w-l-a.

⁸ b-w-j-ng a-l-w-l-w-d-a-l-w-l.

¹⁰ Or: kemab?

¹² b-l-q.

² r-y-p-y-n.

⁴ m-n-t.

⁶ t-m-t-y.

Bab ini ragam tumus raja-raja rebih ⁷ diwangkara ⁸ namanya, demikian bunyinya: gam teng gam² tit teng gam.

Bab ini cakera alam namanya, demikian bunyinya: gemetang gam tang² gam tepat teng gam.

Bab ini seri paduka namanya: gemetang gam² titang kemetang tepat² tepegemetang gam².

91 Bab ini inanganda / namanya, demikian bunyinya: gemetang gam² tengetepat ti kemetenggam².

Bab ini kumbang menyeri ¹ namanya: gam² tang tengetitang.

Bab ini mandi adam ² namanya: gam² tenggam tepat ting.

Bab ini julang karang ³ namanya, demikian bunyinya: gam² tenggam tit tang gam²; itecu karang ⁴ gam² tenggam tengetepat tang.

Bab ini kepi ⁵ namanya, demikian bunyinya: kemetang kam tepetang titang gam.

Bab ini ci' déwa ⁶ namanya, demikian bunyinya: gemetang² gam² tengetepat tengetang.

Bab ini inang sultan namanya, demikian bunyinya: titang kemetang² tit tang.

Bab ini bar-h alam ⁷ namanya, demikian bunyinya: kemetang kemetang² gam tit tang gam.

Bab ini baju antara namanya, demikian bunyinya: gam² tit tit titang gam² kemetang gam tit tenggam tit tenggam.

Bab ini belut ⁸ namanya, demikian bunyinya: gam gam kemetang tang tit titang tigam tenggam gitang ngat.

Bab ini tatkala hendak berdiri nobat, apabila sudah orang gamak gendang, maka orang pun geritiklah ⁹ gendang, maka kita pun tiuplah nafiri, tiuplah panjang dua kali; tatkala bunyi panjang itu 'cūting 'cūting ¹⁰ dan tiup pandak pula tiga kali dan panjang pula sekali, maka berhentilah. Maka dimulai pula lima kali berganti-ganti; lima kali sudah, apabila turun saluinya ¹¹ hendaklah bersama-sama dengan bunyi yang ¹² gendangnya itu. Tatkala digeritikinya ¹³ gendang tiuplah panjang pula dua kali [itu] kedua nafiri itu; jikalau ada empat nafiri itu tiuplah

⁷ t-w-m-s r-a-j² r-b-y-h.

⁸ d-y-w-a-ng-k-a-r-a.

91 ¹ k-m-b-ng m-ny-r-y.

² m-n-d-y a-d-m.

³ j-w-l-ng k-a-r-ng.

⁴ y-t-c-w k-a-r-ng.

⁵ k-p-y.

⁶ c-y' d-y-w-a.

⁷ b-a-r-h a-l-m.

⁸ b-l-w-t.

⁹ k-r-y-t-'l-h. But see below.

¹⁰ c-w-t-y-ng.

¹¹ s-l-w-y-n. See also 94, 3.

¹² y-m.

¹³ d-k-r-y-t-'l-y-ny.

keempatnya yang panjang itu. Apabila hendak mematikan gendang tiuplah tiga kali beri sama sudah dengan gendang itu.

- 92 Tatkala nobat waktu 'isya demikian itu juga mulanya; tatkala turun kepada / perangin¹ tiuplah beri lanjut sekali dahulu, sudah tiup tiga kali pula tambah. Apabila orang hendak geritik² gendang itu tiuplah panjang pula dua kali; tatkala kesudahan peremat³ gendang itu tiup pula tiga kali. Adapun nobat 'isya itu demikian juga bunyinya.⁴ Maka diubung⁵ dengan perang pula; tiup panjang pula dua kali pandaknya tiga kali, tiuplah beri lanjut sekali dahulu; maka sudah ditandan⁶ pula dengan pandak tiga kali berganti-ganti juga, panjang sekali pandak tiga kali. Apabila gendang mengajak kita pun⁷ ingatlah tiup panjang pula dua kali pandak tiga kali lalu sudah. Waktu subuh pun demikian itu juga.

- Sebagai pula, tatkala hari Jum'at tiuplah bersama-sama dengan gendang, tiup panjang dua kali pandak tiga kali panjang pula sekali; tiuplah ragam palu-paluan beri lanjut tiga kali, maka ditandan pula enam kali berganti-ganti juga seorang-seorang sekali. Tatkala gendang turut beralih maka tiuplah pula beri lanjut-lanjut tiga kali seperti itulah; sudah maka ditandan [pula] pula tiga-tiga kali, maka jadi sembilan kali berganti-ganti demikian itulah seorang sekali. Tatkala keturunan gendang pula tiuplah pula tiga kali beri lanjut sudah pula d-a-n-q²⁸ pula tiga kali jadi sembilan kali berganti-ganti rupa itulah. Maka sudah dari pada itu tatkala gendang beralih itu gemuruh gendang namanya; maka tiuplah lima kali senapas. Tatkala gendang dipekab⁹ orang maka tiuplah panjang pula sekali. Sudah itu orang hendak matikan gendang maka tiuplah tiga kali lalu sudah itu berhenti / ramai-ramai. Apabila orang sudah palu arak-arakan sekarang, apabila turun bunyi palu-paluan kita pun sambutlah dengan nafiri cara palu-paluan lanjut-lanjut tiga kali; maka ditandan pula pandak-pandak dua kali jadi enam kali bergantilah, sekali seorang. Apabila gemuruh gendang maka tiuplah berturut-turut lima kali senapas. Apabila gendang dipekab orang maka tiup panjang pula sekali. Sudah itu apabila gendang tatkala hendak mati itu maka ditiup pula tiga kali beri sama sudah dengan gendang.
- 93 Sebagai pula tatkala hendak palu perang itu maka tiuplah panjang pula dua kali bersama-sama kedua orangnya dan pandak pula tiga kali;

92 ¹ p-r-a-ng-y-n.

³ p-r-m-a-t.

⁵ d-a-w-b-ng.

⁷ m-ng-a-c-q k-y-t-p-w-n.

⁹ d-p-k-b.

² g-r-y-t-y'.

⁴ b-w-t-y-ny.

⁶ Always spelt d-t-n-d-a-n.

⁸ d-a-n-q².

sudah itu maka tiuplah beri lanjut pula sekali; maka sudah pula ditiup pula tiga kali berturut-turut lalu sudah.

Sebagai pula tatkala serunai mengajak gendang maka gendang pun hendak digemurukannyalah. Maka apabila orang gemuruh gendang maka tiuplah panjang dua kali. Apabila sudah gendang maka tiuplah pandak tiga kali beri sama sudah dengan gendang.

Sebagai pula raja berangkat tiuplah panjang dua kali pandak tiga kali dan panjang pula sekali, sudah itu maka tiuplah lima kali berturut-turut, maka tiuplah panjang pula sekali dan pandak pula tiga kali serta yang penyudah sekali itu diérét.¹

Adapun tatkala tiup panjang itu demikian bunyinya: ʿüting, beri lanjut serta diketarkan. Tatkala tiga kali ditiup demikian bunyinya, yang sama tengah itu dilanjutkan sedikit bunyinya. Adapun yang bunyi panjang itu ʿüting ang ʿüting. / Adapun yang pandak itu ʿatīng ʿatīng ʿüting tī ū,¹ ujung sekali itu diérét sedikit. Adapun yang lima kali itu berturut-turut senapas-senapas.

Adapun barangsiapa hendak belajar maka tiuplah beri kuat-kuat supaya bulat bunyinya. Adapun memasukkan ʿüting itu dipetik² lidah sehabis-habis kuat, maka besar bunyinya; lamun kurang pun kurang bunyinya, demikianlah syaratnya membunyikan itu.

Adapun tatkala tabal naik raja tujuh kali nobat, tiuplah nafiri keempatnya bersama-sama, panjang dua kali pandak tiga kali. Sudah dari pada itu tiuplah lima kali jadikan senapas, berhenti dua orang tiup dua orang sampai habis saluinya,³ maka tiuplah keempatnya panjang bersama-sama, maka tiuplah panjang pula dua kali dan pandak tiga kali lalu sudah beri bersama-sama dengan gendang. Dan hari raya haj tabal demikian itulah tiupnya, dan tabal tatkala memegang tiga kali demikianlah tiupnya juga.

Tamat alkalam. Bahwa tamatlah kitab Undang-Undang Patani ini disalin dalam negeri Singapura kepada sembilan hari bulan Syaʿban tahun 1255 sanat, yaitu kepada enam belas hari bulan Oktober tahun maséhi 1839 sanat. Tamat adanya. Adapun yang mempunyai kitab ini tuan North adanya.

93 ¹ d-a-y-r-t.

94 ¹ c-t-y-ng c-t-y-ng c-w-t-y-ng t-y a-w.

² d-p-t-k.

³ s-l-w-y-ny. See 91, 11.

لهما فیا تو نغفا کر جان ایت سنیاس
 ای فوکی بر بورو فدک واه هارک فیا تو نغفا
 فون دودق داتس تخت کر جانن دادق
 اوله کل منتری فکاوی هلبا لث دان
 رعیت کلین اریکن مکتیته بکند کو
 مفر خبرن فر بوروان سبله فی لوت
 ایت ترالو باقی کونن مکتیته کل منتری
 دولت توانگو شکانله سفره قیته دی
 یشمه امیلیا ایت فاکر دغر فون دمیکن جوک
 مکتیته فیا تو نغفا حیکلو دمیکن کر هکنله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 اینله سوات قصه یغدر چتر کن اول اوی
 توه ۲ اصل رایغ بر توه نکوی فتایغ در اسلام
 رایه اد فون رایج دکوه مالکی ایته نمات فیاتو
 کروب مهاجن مک فیاتو کروب مهاجن
 فون برانق کورغ لای ۲ مکده غای انقده بکده
 ایت فیاتو انتراحتی بر افطاش مک فیاتو
 کروب مهاجن فون ماتیلده شهادت
 مک فیاتو انتارافون کرجانله معنیت کن
 ایضه بکنده ایته ای منمائی دیریش فیاتو نقفا

